PUBLICATIONS
OF
THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME I

PUBLISHED BY THE
EGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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STUDIES AND RECORDS

Volume I

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THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME I

PUBLISHED BY THE
NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
MINNEAPOLIS, 1926

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PREFACE

The board of editors of the Norwegian-American Historical Association present herewith the first volume in a series of publications intended to include both primary and secondary materials relating specifically to Norwegian immigration and to the history of the Norwegian element in the United States.

One of the marked tendencies of present-day American historiography is the increasing study of population movements and their Old World backgrounds — a trend for which Professor Frederick J. Turner and the western school of historians are no doubt in part responsible. It is believed that the materials in this volume, though of primary value for their contribution to knowledge of a special field, are not without interest for this wider study of American backgrounds. They are therefore presented to the public as a modest contribution to general American history.

The documents and articles in the volume illustrate both the special and the general viewpoints. The examination of health conditions and medical practice among the Norwegian settlers in the period before 1865 is not only an important contribution to the story of the Norwegian-Americans but also a study of wide interest for the social side of the history of the West. The analysis of the situation of the Norwegian Quakers in 1825 throws light not only upon the beginnings of Norwegian immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century but also upon the north European backgrounds of American immigration in general. The pastoral letter of the Norwegian bishop, issued in 1837, may perhaps be interpreted as a revelation of the attitude of the clergy not merely in Norway but in the Scandinavian North toward the rising movement of emigration in the period of the middle nineteenth century. Reiersen's account of the Norwegian settlements in the West is an illuminating contemporary document of the westward movement in the forties. The conditions described in the account of

an emigrant packet, though of special Norwegian-American interest, are probably similar in many respects to those attending hundreds of trans-Atlantic emigrant journeys before the American Civil War. Solberg's reminiscences not only reveal the manner in which the Norwegian settlers adjusted themselves to the political situation that confronted them in the West in the fifties but also shed some light upon the cultural interests of the foreign-born pioneers.

In the latter part of the volume are printed several items about the association that now makes its first bow to the public. Special attention may be directed to the brief article by the president of the association, in which the ideals of the society and its plans for future publications are sketched, and to the certificate of incorporation and the by-laws, which define the objects of the association and explain the nature of its organization.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

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STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME I

HEALTH CONDITIONS AND THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AMONG THE EARLY NORWEGIAN SETTLERS, 1825-1865

By Knut Gjerset and Ludvig Hektoen

The general conditions of health, the prevalent diseases, and the nature of medical practice among early Norwegian settlers in this country have received so scant attention that this side of pioneer life is known only imperfectly. The want of ordinary comforts, the lack of implements for tilling the soil in the wilderness, and the more dramatic incidents of conflicts with hostile Indians furnish a deep coloring to the pages of pioneer history; but the often hopeless struggle against disease in the unhealthful primitive environment, where even under the most exigent circumstances the only medical aid that could be secured was usually inadequate and unskilled, would probably furnish a tale even more sad and somber, if this part of the story could be told more fully.

Norwegian immigration to America began in 1825, when the little sloop "Restaurationen" sailed for New York on July 4 or 5 from the city of Stavanger, Norway, with fifty-two persons on board. Some years previously, in 1821, the Quakers of the Stavanger district had sent Cleng Peerson[1] and Knud Olson Eide to investigate conditions in America. The favorable report submitted upon Peerson's return in 1824 led to the first immigration to this country in modern times.

[1] Rasmus B. Anderson, *Cleng Peerson og Sluppen Restaurationen* (Chicago, 1925); Anderson, "Kleng Peerson, the Father of Norwegian Immigration to America," in *American-Scandinavian Review*, 8: 502 ff. (July, 1920); Theodore C. Blegen, "Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 303 ff. (March, 1921); Olaf M. Norlie, *History of the Norwegian People in America*, 112 ff. (Minneapolis, 1925); Kendric C. Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States* (University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. 3, no. 3 — Urbana, 1914).

A company was organized under the leadership of Lars Larson i Jeilane and the small sloop was bought in which the voyage across the Atlantic was successfully completed. When the immigrants arrived in New York, on October 9 of that year, they were met by Cleng Peerson, who had preceded them by some other route. They were then fifty-three in number, as the wife of the leader had given birth to a daughter on the voyage. The Quakers of the city showed them great hospitality and aided them by collecting a sum of money to defray the expenses of their journey to Kendall in Orleans County, New York, which Cleng Peerson had selected as a suitable location for a settlement. In Kendall they purchased a tract of land, but when they arrived there in the month of November they had neither houses nor provisions for the winter. As the region was forested, some of the settlers began the construction of a log cabin for shelter, while others hired out to the farmers of the neighborhood to thresh grain with the flail, work for which they received every eleventh bushel threshed. In this way they were able to provide themselves with a supply of the most necessary food, but, nevertheless, they suffered great privations, especially during the first year. One of the settlers some years later wrote thus of conditions in the colony during those first hard months: "After a long voyage we finally arrived safe in New York, and went thence to this place in the forest. We were all poor, and none of us could speak English. When we arrived in Kendall, the most of us became sick and discouraged. The timber was heavy, and it took a long time before we could raise enough to support us." [2]

[2] Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821–1840); Its Causes and Results*, 70 ff. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1895). For accounts of early Norwegian immigration see also George T. Flom, *A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States* (Iowa City, 1909); Hjalmar R. Holand, *De norske Settlementers Historie* (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1908); Johan Schröder, *Skandinaverne i de Forenede Stater og Canada*, 180 ff. (La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1867); Babcock, *Scandinavian Element*; and a series of articles by Svein Nilsson entitled, "De skandi-

From 1825 until 1836 no ships carried immigrants from Norway to America and only a few persons, who had come by way of Gothenburg, Sweden, and Hamburg, Germany, arrived in the Kendall colony. But a new exodus was started when Knud Anderson Slogvig, one of the sloop immigrants from the Kendall colony, returned to Norway in 1835 and gave a highly favorable account of America. In 1836, the year following his return, two brigs, "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe," carrying about two hundred persons, sailed from Stavanger to New York. Another band of immigrants followed in 1837 in the two ships "Ægir" from Bergen and "Enigheden" from Egersund.

The restless pathfinder, Cleng Peerson, did not remain long quietly at Kendall. With two companions he set out on foot in 1833 to explore the lands of the great West. They continued their journey as far as Chicago; and finally in the Fox River Valley, La Salle County, Illinois, Peerson found a region which he thought excelled all others in fertility and beauty. Here he founded a second settlement in 1834. Three years later he founded another in Shelby County in northeastern Missouri, but it did not thrive. After a few years the settlers left and established a new colony at Sugar Creek in Lee County, Iowa, a few miles west of Keokuk. In 1849 Peerson went to Texas, where he died in 1865, after spending many years in promoting the founding of Norwegian settlements in that state.

Of the immigrants who came in 1836 in the two brigs "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe," only a few settled in Kendall. Some made their homes in Chicago, but most of them went to the Fox River settlement. Even many of those who settled in Kendall went to Fox River after a few years and for some time this settlement experienced a rapid and uninterrupted growth [fig. 1].

naviske Setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-Magazin*, volumes 1 and 2 (1869-70).

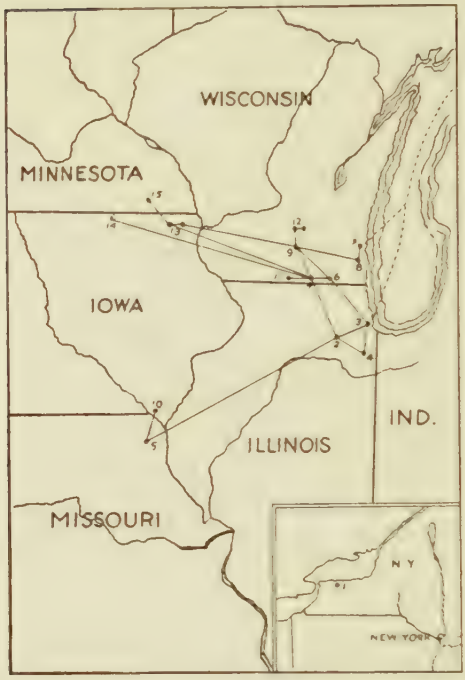


FIG. 1. EARLY NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

KEY TO MAP

1. Kendall, Orleans County, New York 1825
2. Fox River, La Salle County, Illinois 1834
3. Chicago, Illinois 1836
4. Beaver Creek, Iroquois County, Illinois 1837
5. Shelby County, Missouri 1837
6. Jefferson Prairie, Rock County, Wisconsin 1838
7. Rock Prairie (Luther Valley), Rock County, Wisconsin.....1839
8. Muskego, Wisconsin 1839
9. Koshkonong, Dane County, Wisconsin 1840
10. Sugar Creek, Lee County, Iowa 1840
11. Wiota, La Fayette County, Wisconsin 1841
12. Spring Prairie and Bonnet Prairie, Columbia County, Wisconsin ..1845
13. Washington Prairie, Winneshiek County, Iowa 1850
14. St. Ansgar, Mitchell County, Iowa 1853
15. Fillmore County, Minnesota 1853

x. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The two ships "Enigheden" and "Ægir," which sailed to America in 1837, brought 177 immigrants, who intended to go to the Fox River settlement. Many of those who came with "Enigheden" did so; but when the passengers of the "Ægir" reached Chicago they were warned by Bjørn Anderson from the Fox River settlement that if they went there they would be exposed to the ravages of the deadly malarial fever. In their dismay and bewilderment they were encouraged by their leader, Ole Rynning, a well-educated and courageous man. Following the advice of some Americans who told them to go to Beaver Creek in Iroquois County, Illinois, about seventy miles south of Chicago, Rynning and three other trusted men set out to examine that region. They found the land rather low and sandy, but nevertheless they decided to settle there. The immigrants from the "Ægir" were brought out and log cabins were erected for the winter. They were now about fifty in number. The "Ægir" had carried eighty-four passengers, but some had gone to Fox River, N. P. Langeland and his family of seven had left the company at Detroit on the way to Chicago, and others had remained in Rochester.[3]

In the spring the region about Beaver Creek was flooded, the marshy bottoms became veritable lakes, and when the weather grew warm the settlers were attacked by malarial fever. In a short time fourteen or fifteen deaths occurred. In spite of the calamities which had befallen him and his people, Ole Rynning, unmindful of his own suffering, continued bravely to aid and comfort the settlers. On his sick-bed he wrote a truthful and optimistic account of America, which was soon after published in Norway and which did more than anything else to stimulate the early immigration movement.

[3] Theodore C. Blegen, "Ole Rynning's True Account of America," in *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2:221 ff. (November, 1917); Knud Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika; Nogle Optegnelser om de norskes Udvandring til Amerika*, 28 ff. (Chicago, 1889).

In speaking of the danger from disease in America, Rynning says: "I shall not conceal the fact that the unaccustomed climate usually causes some kind of sickness among the new settlers during the first year. Diarrhoea, or the ague, afflicts almost every one; but if a regular diet is observed, these sicknesses are seldom dangerous, and Nature helps herself best without medicine. The ague seldom returns unless one has attempted to drive it away by quack medical treatment." [4]

Soon Rynning, too, succumbed. In the fall of 1838 this heroic and beloved leader was carried away by an ailment which, according to the meager accounts given, seems to have been dysentery. At the time of his death every person but one in the settlement was sick. Those who were able left their homes and belongings and fled from the colony, most of them making their way to their countrymen in the Fox River settlement. A few lingered for a while, hoping that better days might dawn, but soon they, too, left and before long the unfortunate colony was extinct and forgotten.

In 1838 Norwegian immigrants began to establish themselves in Wisconsin. In July of that year Ole Nattestad from the unlucky Beaver Creek colony came to Rock County and settled in the town of Clinton, where a few American families had already built their homes. In 1839 his brother, Ansten Nattestad, who had gone to Norway from Beaver Creek and had published there Ole Rynning's account of America, returned in company with a hundred immigrants on the ship "Emelia." Some of these went to Fox River and others to Chicago, but the greater number followed Ansten to the region selected by his brother Ole, in the southeastern part of Rock County, Wisconsin, where they developed the Jefferson

[4] Ole Rynning, *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika til Oplysning og Nytte for Bonde og Menigmand* (Christiania, 1838). A later edition of this work is that published by Rasmus B. Anderson in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1896. See also Rynning, in the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2: 221 ff., 259.

Prairie settlement.[5] Some went to the southwestern part of the same county, where they founded the Rock Prairie, or Luther Valley, settlement. To later immigrants this region became the gateway to the fertile lands of Wisconsin and the far West and Luther Valley, or Rock Prairie, where the noted Reverend C. L. Clausen became pastor in 1846, remained for some time an important center of activity of the early church leaders among the immigrants.[6]

A second Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin was founded in 1839 at Lake Muskego in Waukesha County by sixty immigrants from Telemarken and Stavanger. Upon their arrival in Milwaukee they were induced by persons interested in the growth of the city to settle in that low and marshy region. The fall rains turned the low ground into swamps and the higher ridges, being covered with heavy timber, were ill suited to cultivation. Still the settlement continued to grow, until the great cholera epidemics in 1849, 1850, and 1852. During those years the dead and dying were found in every household and so great was the suffering that most of the settlers moved away. Already, in 1840, they had begun to establish new homes at Norway in Racine County, a little farther to the southward. The old colony was almost abandoned, but the new settlement became permanent, the whole complex of settlements in this neighborhood being generally known as "the Muskego settlement." Cholera and malaria ravaged the new colony also, trying the settlers' endurance to the utmost. But the settlers clung heroically to the homes they had built and, in spite of hardships, the colony became an important center.

[5] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 82 ff., 93 ff., 102 ff., 107 ff.

[6] Jens C. Roseland (formerly J. C. Jensson), *American Lutheran Biographies*, 138 ff. (Milwaukee, 1890); J. A. Bergh, *Den norsk-lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika*, 15 ff. (Minneapolis, 1914); Olaf M. Norlie, *Norsk lutherske Prester i Amerika, 1843–1913*, p. 15 ff. (Minneapolis, 1914); Svein Strand, "Pastor C. L. Clausen," in *Symra*, 9: 204 ff. (Decorah, Iowa, 1913); Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 154 ff., 171 ff., 182 ff., 186 ff.

Many resolute leaders were found among them, such as Even Heg, father of Colonel Hans C. Heg of Civil War fame; the editor and political leader, James D. Reymert; and the pioneer ministers C. L. Clausen and H. A. Stub. The first Norwegian newspaper in America, *Nordlyset,* edited by James D. Reymert and printed in Even Heg's cabin, was published there from 1847 to 1850. The first real Norwegian church edifice in America was also erected in the Muskego settlement in 1844. In time the swamps were drained, the forests were cut down, and Muskego became one of the most attractive and prosperous rural communities in the state of Wisconsin.[7]

The greatest of early Norwegian settlements was founded in 1840 at Koshkonong in Dane County, Wisconsin. The Reverend J. W. C. Dietrichson, an ordained clergyman of the state church of Norway, became pastor there in 1844. Within a year he organized ten congregations among his countrymen and churches were built at both East and West Koshkonong. Adam Løvenskjold, Norwegian consul general in New York and chargé d'affaires in Washington, after visiting the colony in 1847, wrote in an official report to the Norwegian government: "On Koshkonong Prairie there are two so-called churches, six miles apart. On the outside they resemble barns, but inside they present a neat and tasteful appearance. I attended religious service in one of these churches. Many people were assembled and the service was conducted by Rev. Dietrichson in a very stately manner."[8] Dietrichson's successors, the Rev-

[7] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 7, 10, 11; Hjalmar R. Holand, "Muskego," in *Symra,* 3: 187 ff. (1907); Theodore C. Blegen, "Colonel Hans Christian Heg," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* 4: 140 ff. (December, 1920); Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 266 ff.; Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 42 ff.; Norlie, *Norwegian People in America,* 160 ff.

[8] *Beretning om de norske Settlere i Nordamerika efter den norske General-konsuls, Adam Løvenskjolds, til Departementet under 15de Oktober 1847 indgivne Beretning om hans i afvigte Sommer i de nordamerikanske Fristaters vestlige Provindser i de norske Settlementer aflagte Besøg* (Bergen, Norway, 1848). A translation of this by Knut Gjerset is

crend A. C. Preus, the first president of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod and pastor at Koshkonong from 1850 to 1860, and the Reverend J. A. Ottesen, pastor from 1860 to 1885, were men of learning and culture, who exerted great influence as church leaders. Many men later prominent in state and nation were reared at Koshkonong. In time the settlement became widely known for its fine homes and prosperous people.[9]

For a time the death of Ole Rynning and the news of the sad fate of the Beaver Creek colony produced a marked decline in immigration from Norway; but in 1843 two ships from Drøbak and Bergen brought new bands of immigrants. Of these, fifty families settled at Pine Lake and Nashota, Wisconsin, where a Swedish settlement had been founded in 1841,[10] and new settlements were soon founded in various other places in Wisconsin. In 1843 and 1844 settlements were started at Rock River east of Watertown, at Skoponong, and at Blue Mounds, all in Wisconsin, and at Long Prairie, Illinois. In 1845 settlements were founded at Bonnet Prairie and Spring Prairie, northeast of Madison, Wisconsin, where the noted church leader, the Reverend H. A. Preus, became pastor in 1851. By 1847, according to Løvenskjold's estimate, the Norwegians in the western states numbered between ten and twelve thousand.[11]

in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8:77 ff. (September, 1924). In 1841 a settlement was also established in La Fayette County, Wisconsin. Holand, *De norske Settlementers Historie*, 176 ff.

[9] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 226 ff., 234 ff.; Ditlef G. Ristad, *Minde om Jubelfesterne paa Koshkonong* (1925); Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, 172 ff.; Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 326 ff.; Babcock, *Scandinavian Element*, 44; Holand, *De norske Settlementers Historie*, 142 ff.

[10] Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, 297 ff.; Gustaf E. M. Unonius, *Minnen från en sjuttonårig Vistelse i nordvestra Amerika*, 2:3 (Upsala, 1861–62).

[11] "It will accordingly be seen, by comparing the number of families in the different settlements, that there are about 1500 in all; and if we suppose that each family numbers five persons, there must be about 7500 people. To this total must also be added a number of Norwegians who

As early as 1846 a few Norwegian settlers had crossed the Mississippi into Clayton and Allamakee counties in northeastern Iowa and four years later an important Norwegian settlement was founded in this region east of Decorah. This was the Washington Prairie colony, of which the prominent church leader, the Reverend Ulrik V. Koren, became pastor in 1853. It was not long before other thriving settlements sprang up in northern Iowa and southern Minnesota. Mrs. Abraham Jacobson, who came to Washington Prairie in 1853, states that cholera did not harry this settlement. Those who went to Lansing on the Mississippi to work generally got the fever and ague, but with these exceptions the settlers were not troubled with any serious diseases.

Before many years all the land in the early Norwegian settlements had been taken and there was none left for the new immigrants who continued to arrive. To remedy this difficulty, the Reverend C. L. Clausen of Rock Prairie set out in 1849 to find a suitable place for a new settlement across the Mississippi. This journey, as well as another in 1851, was unsuccessful; but a third journey, in 1852, brought him to the beautiful and fertile region on the Red Cedar River in Mitchell County, Iowa, where St. Ansgar is now located, eighty-four miles west of the Mississippi. After making a second visit to this place in September of the same year, in company with a few trusted men, he agreed to lead to it a large company of settlers from Rock Prairie in the following spring and promised to settle with them as their pastor. Accordingly, in the spring of 1853 forty families, with a train of covered wagons and about three hundred head of cattle, set out upon the long journey of about three hundred miles over the track-

live scattered partly in the country and partly in the towns throughout the western states; also a settlement of some size in southern Michigan. . . . Many Norwegians are also found in Chicago, Illinois, as well as in Indiana. The Norwegians in the western states of the United States may therefore be assumed to number about 10,000 or 12,000." Løvenskjold, in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8:77 ff.

less prairies. Mrs. Assur H. Groth, who as a girl of nineteen made the journey with this company of settlers, says:

The whole company consisted of over thirty covered wagons. The journey lasted three weeks, and most of us walked on foot the whole way, driving the cattle. I can remember that I carried children across creeks and rivers, when we had to ford the streams. No settlers were found in Mitchell county when we came there, but at Osage some had raised tall poles with names on, to indicate that they claimed the land. The Indians were still there, but they were friendly, and did us no harm. Whenever they came to our home, we gave them half a loaf of bread, which made them glad and thankful. In the settlement I was married to Assur H. Groth. Our first house was a small log cabin thatched with sod. After a while a new family came to the settlement, and we let them stay with us in our cabin. We were then seven persons in all in our little home. The cabin had no up-stairs, but some boards were laid across the beams under the rafters, and there some of us slept on a tick filled with straw. A child was born to the visiting family shortly after their arrival. When we raised enough grain so that we had some to sell, it had to be hauled to McGregor, about a hundred miles. These trips required seven or eight days. Later we hauled our grain to Decorah, which was a little nearer. Thirteen children were born to us, all of whom are still living, except one, who died last year. During the years when our children grew up we never had a doctor in the house. At first there were no doctors and no medicines. Rev. Clausen helped those who were sick, as far as he was able. Mrs. Mikkel Tollefson Rust served as midwife, and Sønnøva Knutson, a trained midwife from Norway, served as midwife and also as doctor, practicing both cupping and bloodletting. There was no cholera in the new settlement, and no fever, except ague, which troubled us some. The people were well, and very few died during the early years. The houses were poor. Many families had no stoves, and had to build some sort of fireplace of rock. Kitchen utensils were few. In Rev. Clausen's cabin they had to bake bread in a pot which they covered up and hung over the fire. But the people were happy. The greatest hospitality was practiced, and we loved each other as if we were all brothers and sisters.

The lack of tools and utensils and the absence of any comforts beyond the bare necessities of life were hardships which time and hard work would lighten. But other trials and dangers which beset the early Norwegian settlers were more difficult to combat. One danger to which they were exposed,

even in the undeveloped regions where they settled, was the unrestricted and excessive use of alcoholic liquors. In his great work on the diseases of the Mississippi valley, written in 1850, Daniel Drake, referring to the Norwegians, wrote, "Professor Brainerd of Chicago has informed me, that the Norwegian immigrants, on landing at that city, often sicken under the combined influence of meat and whiskey." [12] It is probably safe to conclude that whisky was the more effective of the two agents.

Excessive use of alcoholic beverages was very common in Norway at this time. The earlier restrictive laws governing the manufacture of distilled liquors had been repealed in 1816 at the instance of the leaders of the movement for national freedom, who considered such laws incompatible with the ideas of liberty and held that every citizen who paid taxes should have the right to distill liquors without interference from the government. As a result, private distilleries grew very numerous and the amount of alcoholic liquors used increased to seventeen quarts per capita in 1833, figured on the basis of a fifty per cent volume of alcohol. Restrictive measures in 1845 and 1848 abolished private distilleries, but the excessive use of alcoholic stimulants was still very common. In 1857 a general survey conducted by Eilert Sundt revealed the fact that over one-third of all married men in the country were more or less addicted to an excessive use of alcohol. Alcoholism was found to be one of the most potent causes of insanity, stillbirths, infant mortality, poverty, and crime — conditions which led to the strong temperance movement and the advanced temperance legislation of more recent times.[13]

The early immigrants carried their old habits with them to this country, where freedom with regard to the use of intoxi-

[12] Daniel Drake, *A Systematic Treatise, Historical, Etiological, and Practical, on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America* (Cincinnati, 1850).

[13] Knut Gjerset, *Braendevinssamlagene og Afholdsarbeidet i Norge* (Decorah, Iowa, 1911).

cants was no less complete than in Norway. Overindulgence was therefore common and had a disastrous effect upon the settlers' social and economic well-being. The Norwegian Lutheran pastor and church leader, the Reverend O. J. Hatlestad, wrote in 1853: "We have received a paper called *Afholdsvennen* ["The Temperance Friend"], edited by L. P. Mossin. It is published monthly, and costs twenty-five cents a year. The purpose of the paper is to work against the physical and moral evil of indulgence in alcoholic stimulants, which has ruined and poisoned our whole social life, an evil whose injurious and ruinous effects we can observe daily." [14] In a letter to *Emigranten,* dated July 18, 1859, one writer, speaking about conditions in the Norwegian settlement on Bonnet Prairie, near Columbia, Wisconsin says: "So in accordance with Mikkael's invention, and because many of these wicked people felt that it would satisfy their wants, we find them taking many a glass of whiskey. More and more people came into the community and the evil of drunkenness raged so fiercely that it is impossible for my pen to describe conditions." [15] The very strong expressions used by this writer, who seems to be a man of marked pietistic leanings, can safely be regarded as exaggerations; but there is no doubt that excessive use of alcoholic stimulants was common among the early Norwegian settlers and often created most deplorable conditions.

During the early years the settlers suffered much from epidemic and other diseases, which carried away even the strongest and blighted the homes and happiness of the survivors. Especially tragic in their immediate results were the cholera epidemics. Cholera appeared in this country first in 1832. From Quebec and Montreal it spread to the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie and thence to Lake Champlain and Albany.

[14] *Friheds-Banneret* (Chicago), March 12, 1853.

[15] Richard B. Eide, *Norse Immigrant Letters; Glimpses of Norse Immigrant Life in the Northwest in the Fifties,* 16 (Minneapolis, 1925).

From New York also it was carried inland, following, it was noted by physicians in Chicago and elsewhere, the thoroughfares of travel. It was spread, no doubt, by immigrants coming by way of New York and Buffalo, where cholera existed when they passed through. In 1848–49 it broke out in New Orleans and on the Atlantic coast.[16] From New Orleans it spread over the Mississippi Valley. In St. Louis seventeen physicians died of cholera in the spring and summer of 1849.

On April 29, 1849, cholera was brought to Chicago by the canal-boat "John Drew." Her captain, who had contracted the disease from immigrants coming from New Orleans by way of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers and the canal, died a few hours after the boat arrived in Chicago, and others on the same boat died also. So many were stricken in Chicago that a cholera hospital was established. One person in every thirty-six of the population died during the epidemic. The

[16] Cholera may appear simultaneously, or nearly so, at widely distant points and still come from the same place. In 1848 cholera appeared practically at the same time in New York and New Orleans. There was no possible way by which it could have been carried from one of these places to the other within the time and this enabled people to say, as they had been saying for centuries and as some continue to say, that an epidemic is due to some terrestrial influence, something which vitiates the air all around the world at the same time. Fortunately, it turned out that the simultaneous appearance of cholera in New York and New Orleans could be easily explained. In October and early November of 1848 German emigrants from a cholera infected district assembled at Havre. There was no cholera at Havre at that time. On the ninth of November the "New York" sailed for the city of that name with 315 of these steerage passengers. She was preceded by the "Swanton," which sailed from Havre for New Orleans on the third of November with another batch of these infected emigrants. Cases developed on both ships when they were a thousand miles apart and in this way practically on the same day cholera cases appeared in New York and New Orleans. In the latter city the disease became epidemic and was carried up the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri Rivers so far as they were navigable; and in the spring of 1849 the seeds of this disease found transportation in the wagons of the gold-seekers and its ravages followed the miner into the most remote camps. Victor C. Vaughan, *Epidemiology and Public Health*, 359 (1923).

height of this outbreak extended from July 7 to August 18 and, according to Dr. John Evans, who made a careful study of the epidemic, the greatest mortality occurred on the north side of the city in a neighborhood of three squares, where "scarcely an individual escaped an attack, either in the form of diarrhea, or the more aggravated disease." This section was situated on the highest ground in the vicinity of Chicago. "The soil," wrote Evans, "is very sandy and dry. These blocks are thinly built up, and are nearly surrounded by open, vacant ground. The inhabitants are mostly of the better class of Norwegians, in moderate circumstances, who live as comfortably as the average of Americans. The three blocks numbered 332 inhabitants. Of these forty-four died of cholera." Twenty-eight of the forty-four victims were sick less than one day. In not a single instance did the disease appear in a neighborhood that had not been in communication with affected persons or places and consequently Evans placed no stress at all upon its spread by drinking water. To quote again from Evans:

> From Andrew Nelson, janitor of Rush Medical College, I obtained the following: 'On the thirty-first of July Knut Hanson nursed Nels Nelson until he died, which was about noon. At 2 o'clock on the same day he took a diarrhea, and went to Andrew Nelson's: on the 3d of August he died. Nelson's family were in tolerable health up to this time. On the 4th one of his children was taken sick with the disease. Two days afterward another sister was taken with diarrhea, but was relieved by medicine taken at the onset of the attack. On the night of the 9th Mrs. Nelson, who had been washing up the clothes of Hanson that died the day before, and nursing her children, was taken violently sick, and died the next evening. On the morning of the 10th Mr. Nelson's brother was taken sick, and died before night. Two members of the family, only, escaped an attack.' [17]

[17] John Evans, "Observations upon the Spread of Asiatic Cholera and Its Communicable Nature," in *North-Western Medical and Surgical Journal*, 6:245 (1850). Evans obtained the names of the forty-four victims and the details as to the way in which the disease spread from N. H. Ellickson. See also Chicago Board of Health, *Report for 1867, 1868, and 1869 and a Sanitary History of Chicago from 1833 to 1870* (Chicago,

The disease reappeared in Chicago in July, 1850, and by September it had carried off 420 persons. There were 216 deaths from cholera in Chicago in 1851; 630 in 1852; 26 in 1854; and 147 in 1855. There were no cases after this until 1863. In 1866 there were 990 deaths from cholera in the city, including that of Dr. Daniel Brainerd, the founder of Rush Medical College; in 1867 there were 67 deaths in all; and in 1873 there were only eight. The present system of water supply from Lake Michigan was started in 1851 largely on account of the many deaths from cholera in 1849 and 1850 in localities where well water was used, particularly on the north side. At that time the predominant rôle of drinking water in the spread of cholera was not understood and obviously both carrier and contact infection played a highly significant part in the events both in Chicago and in the settlements.

From Chicago cholera traveled on to Aurora, Naperville, and other places, as well as out along the Milwaukee road. In Milwaukee cases appeared early in July, 1849, and in the first half of August six or seven deaths occurred daily. At the end of August it was reported that of 209 cholera patients, 104 had died.[18]

The Norwegian settlement at Fox River suffered frightfully from cholera, which was brought in 1849 by newcomers who had been taken sick on their way through infected places. A carpenter who was employed to make coffins for the cholera victims in the settlement was unable to supply the demand. In order that he should not be exposed to the disease, his neighbors pushed boards through the window into his shop and the coffins were delivered through the same opening. One of the settlers has stated that in her home her stepfather, her mother, two brothers, and a laborer died within a few days.[19]

1871); John B. Hamilton, *The Epidemics of Chicago* (Society of Medical History of Chicago, *Bulletins*, 1:73 (1911); and Louis F. Frank, *Medical History of Milwaukee, 1834–1914* (Milwaukee, 1915).

[18] Evans, in *North-Western Medical and Surgical Journal*, 6:245 (1850).

[19] Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 153, 251.

In the Muskego settlement the same epidemic created the greatest suffering. So dark a pall of sorrow fell upon the colony that Muskego became known as "the region of death." Among those carried away during the outbreak was Dr. Squires, who succeeded Dr. Otis, the first physician to locate in that district. One of the settlers, John Evenson Molee, describes the summer of 1849 as "the awfulest summer I have ever experienced in my life." "By this time," he wrote, "there were a great number of our people in Muskego. When the cholera epidemic struck our settlement, there were, at one time, only seven families, all well, so that they could get away to help their neighbors. From three to four persons died every day. Hans Tveito and myself had all we could do to carry the dead out of the houses and haul them to the grave with our oxen, while others dug the graves." [20]

In another account the writer speaks of the "terrible and indescribable scenes" which "followed the breaking out of this fearful scourge, as the poor and ignorant people did not know how to diet or abate its ravages in the least." "A hospital," he continues, "was finally established on the shores of Big Muskego lake, in a large barn, where scores of the poor people died. This plague broke out here again in 1851, and raged with frightful violence and fatality. A log house near the town line in Norway was then an improvised hospital, and graves were dug and kept open for expected corpses. The plague resulted in so many deaths, and carried such terror into the community, that all but a few of the surviving Norwegian families left the town." [21] In 1852 the few settlers still remaining in the colony again had to carry out their dead in a new cholera epidemic.

In other Norwegian settlements similar conditions prevailed. The Koshkonong settlement was harried by cholera in 1849

[20] Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 321.

[21] Quoted in Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 275 ff.

and again in 1850 it was visited by an epidemic during which many people died. One of the settlers of the Rock Prairie settlement wrote that cholera, brought along by immigrants, had closed the eyes of many in that colony. The Reverend H. A. Stub, pastor in Muskego, was asked to go to Dodgeville during the cholera epidemic at that place. "He was advised not to go," writes his son, "but nothing could deter him. One part of the town was almost depopulated, one corpse after the other being carried to the grave. My father stayed near the part which was least affected, and in a small church there he conducted religious services for the people of the neighborhood." [22] At Bonnet Prairie and Spring Prairie, Wisconsin, where the Reverend H. A. Preus was pastor, there was an epidemic of cholera in 1851 and 1852. Preus's son gives the following description of conditions there:

> The courage of the pastor and his wife was often put to the severest test. Greatest perhaps were the difficulties during the cholera epidemic. Mr. Ziiølner has told me that at one time he accompanied father from Portage to Bonnet Prairie. It was late before they started, and it soon grew so dark that they did not know where they were. They then decided to stop over night wherever they could find quarters. In the first house which they found all were dead. In the next house nearly all were sick with the cholera, and so they continued from house to house until they came home. Sickness and death they found everywhere.[23]

There seems to be no record of cholera in the Norwegian settlements after 1852, but in 1854 Norwegian immigrant groups passing through Milwaukee took cholera with them on their way, and in one case at least they buried the dead by the road side.

Apparently nothing was done to disinfect or properly to dispose of the highly infectious discharges of cholera patients. Dr. J. W. Magelssen states that in the early settlements no

[22] H. G. Stub, "Fra Fars og Mors Liv," in *Symra*, 3: 14 ff. (1907). The Reverend H. G. Stub is president emeritus of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America.

[23] C. K. Preus, "Minder fra Spring Prairie Prestegaard," in *Symra* 2: 18 ff. (1906).

privies were built. All houses were built of logs, as sawed boards were too expensive, and no one thought of building a log house for so simple a purpose. The discharges of both the sick and the well were deposited in the open, where they were accessible to hogs and chickens, as well as to the myriads of flies which always infested the homes, for no window screens were used. In all cases of sickness the swill-pail was used as a chamber-pot. Even after privies came into use they represented scarcely any real improvement, as they were poorly constructed, accessible to flies, never disinfected, and, as a rule, highly unsanitary.

But even the fatal inroads of the dreaded cholera seem to have been regarded by the settlers as a less serious affliction than the fever and ague, or malaria — known among Norwegian immigrants as *agern, klimatfeber* ["climate fever"], *koldfeber,* and *sumpfeber* ["swamp fever"] — from which they were never free and which, like a vampire, sapped their strength and ruined their lives, even if it did not produce as high a mortality rate as cholera, which occurred only at intervals. Although the disease was seldom fatal, it left the settlers for long periods too weak to work, and consequently many families were in want. Furthermore, those once stricken with the disease were usually subject to new attacks every year.[24]

According to Knud Langland, editor of *Demokraten* and later of *Skandinaven,* "everywhere in the West the ague attacked the settlers more or less severely during the first development of the country; but on high land, far from swamps and morasses, the affliction was quite easily overcome."[25] Wherever new land was broken in swampy regions, the ague harried the people with the most disastrous results, as in the Beaver Creek colony. Langland wrote that in 1839 "malarial fever prevailed in the whole Fox River valley from Muskego in Wisconsin to the Mississippi river in Illinois, as well as in

[24] Løvenskjold, in *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* 8:77 ff.

[25] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 20.

other river valleys in the West, but this the immigrants did not understand." [26] In 1847 the Norwegian consul-general in New York reported that " few if any of the immigrants escape the fever and ague. . . . Last year the suffering among the immigrants is said to have been very great. In many homes the husband, wife and children were all in bed, no one being able to help the other." [27]

In 1839 Knud H. Roe came to Chicago in company with about fifty immigrants from Norway, most of whom found employment in digging canals near the city. Of the subsequent fate of these immigrants Roe wrote:

> According to what I learned later many of these immigrants were soon attacked by disease, and as a result many of the families were in great want of the necessaries of life. At this time malaria ravaged Chicago very severely, and especially many of the poor hard-working immigrants, who were poorly fed and lived in miserable huts, fell victims to the disease. When fall came, only a few were alive. Most of them had succumbed to the unhealthy climate, and had closed their eyes in death, soon after they had reached the destination for which they had longed so earnestly.[28]

The Muskego settlement especially felt the ravages of the dread disease. A letter from one of the settlers to his parents in Norway describes conditions in that colony in 1841:

> I became sick as soon as I came here, and have been sick for eighteen months with malarial fever, which is very severe and painful, and sometimes fatal. My wife and I are now somewhat better, but far from being well. This year seventy or eighty Norwegians died here. . . . My son Knud was sick fifteen days, and died three-quarters of a mile from the Norwegian settlement. My son Kittel has been sick with the fever, but is now well again. Our child Knud was the eleventh child which died on the way hither. . . . Many became widows and fatherless this year. [29]

Seventy or eighty deaths in so small a community — the popu-

[26] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 32.

[27] Løvenskjold, in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8: 77 ff.

[28] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 2: 15.

[29] *Norge og Amerika — et maanedlig Flyveblad* (Arendal, Norway), January, 1847, pp. 113 ff.

lation was only six hundred in 1846 and so it must have been considerably smaller in 1841 — was an unusual death rate even in those days. The writer does not state from what disease the twelve children died, but it could not have been malarial fever, since they died before reaching the colony. A letter which he wrote to his parents in 1844 is more optimistic in tone:

> We and our little son are now well, content and comfortable, so that I would not care to go back to Norway to live. . . . My brother Ole got sick with the fever, but not very severely, and he is now well again. Last year the ague raged very badly, but this year few have had it, and no one has died from it. Of those who live in other places not many were attacked. Therefore I will move away from here, and so will most of those who live here.[30]

In 1843 the Reverend C. L. Clausen became pastor in the Muskego settlement. When he came there, ague and bilious fever were so common that in every home but one there was sickness and deaths occurred almost daily. According to the clergyman's official report there were in that year fifty-three burials — thirty-two in the month of November, eight in one day. In 1844 conditions improved somewhat and only seventeen deaths occurred.[31]

Reports from other settlements were no less dismal. According to one of the first settlers in the Rock County colony, most of the people in that settlement were attacked by malarial fever.[32] Knud Aslakson Juve stated that when they came to Koshkonong in August, 1844, he and his brother became sick with malarial fever and did not regain their health until the fall of the year following.[33] Dr. C. R. Head, who came to Rock County in 1839, entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City in 1844. In 1845 he returned to Wisconsin and began to improve a farm which he had entered.

[30] *Norge og Amerika — et maanedlig Flyveblad*, January, 1847, pp. 115 ff.

[31] Bergh, *Den norsk-lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika*, 17.

[32] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 172.

[33] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 2: 24.

One day while he was chopping in the forest a man came in great haste for him to visit a sick man near Koshkonong and from that day he was compelled to continue his services as medical doctor, without being able to return to the medical school until 1847. In 1846 he had at one time seventy-two cases of fever under his care.[34]

Many diseases developed on board the immigrant ships which were sometimes carried to the early settlements. Among them were typhoid fever, dysentery, and possibly typhus fever. Because of its frequent origin on shipboard, typhoid fever was commonly known as "ship fever," but it is not unlikely that "ship fever" sometimes also denotes typhus fever. The early immigrant vessels were often ill-ventilated and unsanitary old hulks, lacking all suitable equipment for carrying passengers. In early days not even a ship surgeon was provided, the captain of the vessel being expected to dole out medicines to the sick. As a result these ships became breeding places for dangerous diseases, which often carried away large numbers of passengers on the ocean voyages and infected the survivors with dangerous contagions to be transmitted to the settlements which they later visited.[35]

J. R. Reiersen wrote in 1846 that the immigrants were supplied with water from barrels which were "in such a condition that on the voyage across the ocean the water becomes putrid. This was the case on the ship on which I and my family came this year, and a general diarrhea developed on board."[36] Mrs. C. K. Preus, who came to America with her parents in 1860 on the vessel "Drøbak," which carried four

[34] *The History of Dane County, Wisconsin*, 1185 (Chicago, 1880).

[35] H. Cock-Jensen, "Emigrantfart for 50–60 aar siden," in *Nordmands-Forbundet*, 1:51 ff. (December, 1907); Holand, *De norske Settlementers Historie*, 60 ff. An English translation of the Cock-Jensen document is printed *post*, p. 126.

[36] *Norge og Amerika — et maanedlig Flyveblad*, January, 1847, p. 103. Reiersen's letter is dated Alexandria on the Red River (Texas), January 16, 1846.

hundred persons, said that before the end of the voyage, which lasted thirteen weeks, water and provisions ran short. There was no doctor and so much sickness developed that fifteen persons died on the voyage. Most of the deaths were those of children, and, as she remembered, the prevailing disease was a violent diarrhea.

Knud Langland states that there was much sickness on board the boat on which he came to America in 1843. Two children died and were buried at sea. When the ship reached New York, seven or eight of the passengers had to be placed in a hospital. One of the patients, a woman, who left the hospital before she had fully recovered, died of typhoid fever after leaving New York for the West.[37] John Evenson Molee, who came to America in 1839, states in a letter to Professor R. B. Anderson: "My wife came over from Tin by way of Drammen, Norway, in 1843. She had a harder time in crossing the Atlantic than I had. The ship was thirteen weeks in crossing, and fourteen persons died of typhoid fever while sailing over the Atlantic. They were buried in that great ocean. Her own mother, Anne, and her twin sister, Susanna, were buried at sea." [38] It is possible that what the writer calls typhoid fever was really typhus fever. It is known that in the fifties a short but highly fatal outbreak of typhus fever occurred among the passengers of the steamer "Alleghany," on arriving in Milwaukee from Buffalo.

Dr. Bernhard I. Madsen, who established himself as a physician in Chicago in 1851, but moved to Cambridge in the Koshkonong settlement in 1856, is said to have died of typhus fever there in 1864. In describing conditions in Chicago in 1852, the Norwegian-American weekly newspaper, *Friheds-Banneret*, says: "From the middle of May till the month of September, according to the report of grave-diggers, 1500 persons, including Americans, Irish, Germans, Norwegians,

[37] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 53 ff.
[38] Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 317.

and Swedes, died of various diseases. The rate of mortality was highest among the Irish and the Swedes. The prevalent diseases were cholera, bilious fever and typhoid fever." [39]

Leprosy was a disease of rather frequent occurrence in Norway in this period, especially in some of the seacoast districts. In 1856 there were 2,833 leprosy patients in Norway, but later efforts to study and control the disease have borne such fruit that in 1920 there were only 160 cases. In 1863 Dr. Jens Andreas Holmboe of Bergen was sent to the United States to study leprosy among the immigrants. In his extensive travels in the Norwegian settlements he found no cases of leprosy among persons born in America. The few cases which he did find were among those who had immigrated from Norway and most of them were already infected with the disease when they came. In a few instances the disease had developed in America, but "always in cases where the persons affected were adults when they came, or have lived in such a way, both in Norway and here, that the disease has been fostered, and that they have reaped no benefit from the natural advantages of conditions of life in America." Leprosy transmitted to America generally appeared in a milder form than in Norway, "with a greater tendency to self-restriction and cure." Dr. Holmboe ascribed this comparative absence of leprosy to the change in living conditions and the general well-being among the immigrants, "who in respect to physical comfort are so much better situated here than they were in Norway." Many of the immigrants who were untouched by the disease in all probability would have been attacked by it had they remained in Norway. "The climate seems to have a great influence on these changes," wrote Dr. Holmboe, "as it is not so damp and severe as in Norway, and does not tax the physical constitution so severely. . . . The people in America do not need to expose themselves so much to the rigor of the climate as in Norway, and if they do so, they are better armed and have

[39] *Friheds-Banneret*, October 26, 1852.

consequently greater strength to resist it. Leprosy will disappear among the Norwegians in America, and will appear only as isolated imported cases, which will not be transmitted from one generation to the other as an endemic." [40]

Itch was common among the early settlers and was due to unsanitary conditions, according to Dr. Magelssen. So also was the contagious eye disease, conjunctivitis, which spread among the people because of their habit of using the same towel, even at large gatherings. That the immigrants from Norway brought trachoma with them seems doubtful, in view of the statement by Dr. E. Boeckmann of St. Paul, Minnesota, that trachoma was unknown in the parts from which they came.

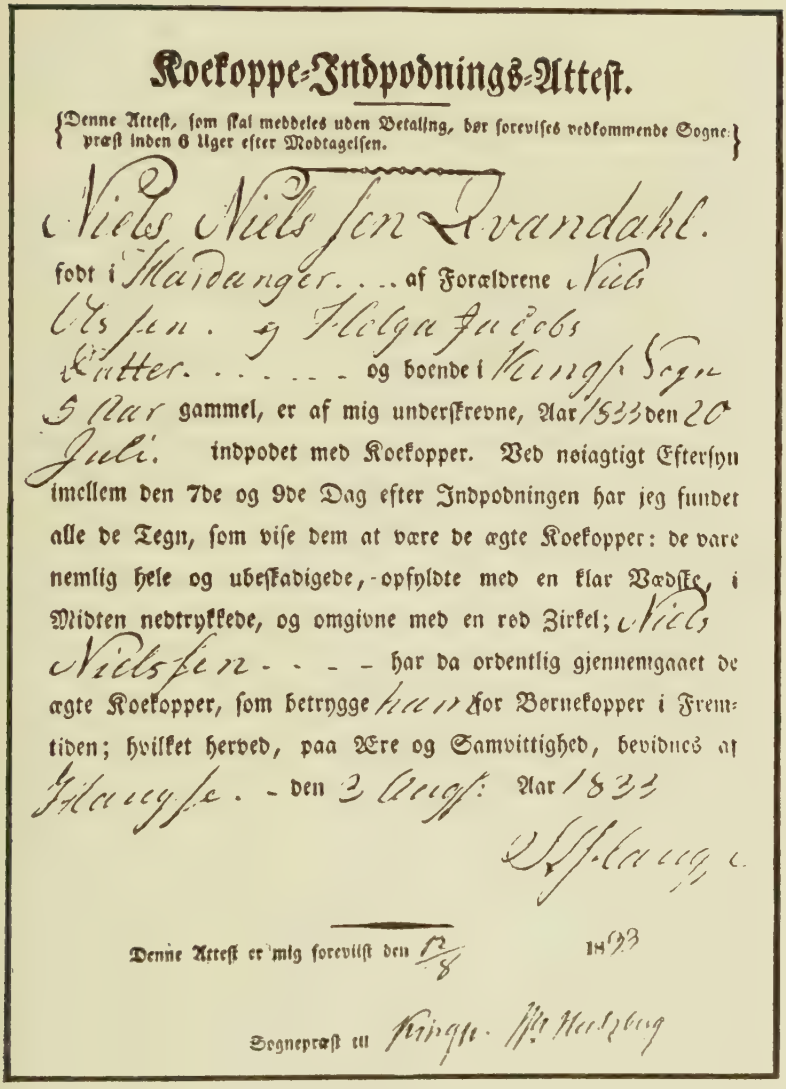
Pneumonia was prevalent and tuberculosis was very common in the early Norwegian settlements, according to Dr. Magelssen. In many houses either the wife or the husband was a sufferer from tuberculosis and night and day would spit on the floor or on the walls of their ill-ventilated sod hut or log cabin, as that disease was not known to be contagious. "If it is really as contagious as it is now considered to be, no one at that time could have escaped it," remarks Dr. Magelssen. It is probably safe to assume that when subsequent generations of Norwegians, born and reared in this country, have been so sorely afflicted with tuberculosis, it has been due to a large extent to the conditions in the pioneer homes, which enabled the disease to get a firm foothold in so many families. It is established that poverty, unsanitary conditions, hard work, homesickness, sorrow, suffering, and general misery — conditions which existed everywhere in the early settlements — contribute to the development and spread of this disease. Fewer persons seem to have died of tuberculosis in those early days than later, perhaps because the immigrants who came from Norway were healthy and had robust constitutions. But

[40] Holmboe, "Leprosy among the Norwegians in America," in *Norsk Magazin for Laegevidenskaben*, series 2, vol. 19, p. 153 ff. (1865). He wrote this valuable article on his return to Norway. See also *Emigranten* (Madison, Wisconsin), April 10, 1865.

those who belonged to the generation reared in the pioneer sod huts and log cabins were not so strong and often carried with them from their early homes weakened constitutions and, in many cases, well-rooted infections. The high rate of mortality resulting from tuberculosis among the Norwegian people in America, even up to our own day, is probably the heavy penalty they have had to pay for the poverty, squalor, and hardships of pioneer times.

The lack of knowledge of bacteria and of the true nature of infectious diseases was at that time characteristic, not only of the general public, but of the best representatives of the medical profession as well. Dr. Magelssen, who entered Rush Medical College in 1863 and was graduated in 1866, says that Professor J. Adams Allen, one of the most noted teachers in that college, told his students that malaria was due to certain gases in the air, the presence of which could be detected by exposing starch to the air at night. If malarial gases were present, the starch would assume a bluish color. This was based upon the ozone idea that prevailed in those days as an explanation of various diseases. Professor Brainerd, the founder of the same college, who was regarded as one of the greatest surgeons in the country, told his students that in treating wounds the doctor should try to secure so-called "healthy" or "laudable" pus. At that time the healing of wounds without infections rarely occurred and yellow or laudable pus was an indication of the least dangerous wound infection. At the present day such ideas seem almost medieval, but it should be remembered that the modern science of bacteriology really dates from the epoch-making discoveries of Pasteur and Koch in the eighth decade of the nineteenth century. Through them the foundation was laid for the scientific knowledge of microbes, the use of antiseptics, serum therapy, and the sanitary science of the present.

It is noteworthy that in speaking of the infectious diseases with which they were afflicted the Norwegian immigrants do



Koekoppe-Indpodnings-Attest.

{Denne Attest, som skal meddeles uden Betaling, bør forevises vedkommende Sogne-præst inden 6 Uger efter Modtagelsen.}

Niels Nielsen Svandahl.

født i Mardanger . . . . af Forældrene Niels Olsen og Helga Jacobs Datter . . . . . og boende i Kongs Sogn 5 Aar gammel, er af mig underskrevne, Aar 1833 den 20 Juli. indpodet med Koekopper. Ved nøiagtigt Eftersyn imellem den 7de og 9de Dag efter Indpodningen har jeg fundet alle de Tegn, som vise dem at være de ægte Koekopper: de vare nemlig hele og ubeskadigede, opfyldte med en klar Vædske, i Midten nedtrykkede, og omgivne med en rød Zirkel; Niels Nielsen . . . . har da ordentlig gjennemgaaet de ægte Koekopper, som betrygge ham for Børnekopper i Fremtiden; hvilket herved, paa Ære og Samvittighed, bevidnes af

Kongs. . den 2 Aug. Aar 1833

Denne Attest er mig forevist den 12/8 1833

Sognepræst til Kongs. Hellberg

FIG. 2. THE VACCINATION CERTIFICATE OF A NORWEGIAN IMMIGRANT, 1833

not mention smallpox. No serious epidemics of this disease seem to have developed among them, no doubt because they had all been vaccinated in Norway and because they continued the practice of vaccinating their children in the new settlements in America. Vaccination was introduced in Norway by law in 1810 and no person could thenceforth be confirmed or married without submitting his certificate of vaccination [fig. 2]. These valuable documents were therefore carefully preserved by the people and many immigrants brought them to America. According to J. W. Magelssen, variolation was practiced to some extent in the early settlements because of the difficulty of obtaining vaccine.[41] By this process inoculations were made with virus from a smallpox patient, from which developed a rather mild form of the disease which rendered the patient immune to new attacks; but the disease thus produced was contagious and some patients died from it. Dr. Magelssen says that he gathered the children of his neighborhood in a schoolhouse and vaccinated them with vaccine taken from a calf which he had inoculated with virus from a smallpox patient. In many cases arm to arm vaccination was practiced and sometimes human vaccine virus in the form of scabs was used. Faithful to their knowledge and tradition from Norway of the importance of inoculation against smallpox, the Norwegian settlers constantly practiced vaccination in some form.

Against malarial fever the immigrants were naturally helpless, until the insect-breeding sloughs and swamps which surrounded them in the new and undeveloped country had been drained and the soil had been cultivated. Cholera, so-called "bilious fever," dysentery, typhoid fever, and summer complaint probably were spread by contaminated drinking water in many cases; but it seems certain that the unsanitary and

[41] Variolation was introduced in Europe in the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it had been known in China and in eastern parts of India from ancient times.

crowded conditions in the homes led to more direct infection through various forms of contact.

The early Norwegian settlers did not dig wells. In Norway they had taken water for the household from sparkling brooks of pure water coming in rapid falls from the snow-capped mountains. In America they followed the same custom of taking their water from streams, without understanding the difference in climate and other conditions. They built their homes near brooks and rivers, where they could find timber and flowing water. For the household they hauled water from springs and stored it in barrels; but before long the water in the barrels would be covered with green scum and the ever-present mosquito would fill it with myriads of its pupæ, so that it was necessary to strain the water through cloth before drinking it. When springs could not be found, the settlers dug shallow holes near standing pools and let the water seep into these surface reservoirs. Only gradually did they begin to dig wells and these at first were so shallow that the water easily became contaminated from the surface. In 1843 Reiersen wrote the following description of conditions in the Muskego settlement: "The land around Muskego is very low and flat, surrounded on all sides with sloughs and swamps, the like of which I have not seen elsewhere in the whole territory (Wisconsin). As a result the water is not very good, and the ease with which it can be found by digging a hole a few feet deep at the edge of a slough, has had the result that the settlers have not taken the trouble to dig wells to greater depths on land of a higher elevation." [42] Løven-

[42] Johan R. Reiersen, *Veiviser for norske Emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske Stater og Texas*, xix ff. (Christiania, 1844). Reiersen states that in the winter of 1843–44 the Muskego settlement numbered between fifteen hundred and two thousand people, but he does not fail to point out (p. 155) that a large proportion of these planned to start for the interior in the spring. The settlement was founded in 1839 by fewer than sixty immigrants. During the first years the death rate was high, and the influx of new settlers was not heavy. The statement by the Reverend J. W. C. Dietrichson, probably based upon church membership,

skjold reported that about the Rock Prairie, or Luther Valley, settlement the soil was rich but the water was "partly wanting." "Small brooks are found in a few places," he said, "but most of the settlers have to dig wells to the depth of twenty to forty feet. . . . At Ashipun, west of Pine Lake water is difficult to obtain, and is seldom found except at a depth of twenty to thirty feet." [43] To sink wells to such depths without proper apparatus was a real hardship; but in most places wells were dug only a few feet into the ground and would fill with water drawn from the surface or from upper strata of vegetable mold.

The sanitary conditions in the small, ill-ventilated, and overcrowded log cabins, sod huts, and dugouts were, of course, bad, as no opportunity was afforded for the observance of even elementary hygienic rules [fig. 3]. The conditions in the Muskego settlement described by Reiersen had their counterpart probably in all the Norwegian settlements. "The greater number of the immigrants who came this year flocked to this settlement," he wrote, "many of them being sick from their voyage across the ocean, and crowded together in small log cabins, so that often there were fifteen or twenty persons in one little cabin. The respiration of so many persons in one small room, together with the squalid habits of our countrymen, naturally intensified the mentioned causes of disease, creating an epidemic which, as doctors were seldom called, assumed a dangerous character, the malarial fever developing into the far more dangerous bilious fever, which carried away a great number of people. About fifty or sixty persons have died in this settlement this year." [44] Løvenskjold reported similar conditions in the Koshkonong settlement: "As we know the Norwegian farmers in Wisconsin live in log cabins of only one room, in which they live, cook and sleep in genuine chalet

that in 1846 the settlement had about six hundred people must be regarded as trustworthy.

[43] Løvenskjold, in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8: 78.

[44] Reiersen, *Veiviser for norske Emigranter*, xix-xx.

Fig. 3. A Pioneer Log Cabin, Muskego, Wisconsin, 1840

Fig. 11. Dr. Sören J. Hanssen's Home at Koshkonong

manner, for with anything else it can not be compared. One finds on a shelf under the roof of the low cabin milk, butter and cheese, which naturally evaporate and corrupt the air. Such an arrangement, unpleasant even in the cold North, becomes unbearable in so warm a climate as this, not to mention its bad effect upon the general health." In another place Løvenskjold says: "As a rule there are only log houses, but those who have settled on the prairie dwell, to a large extent, in sod huts under ground, with only the roof projecting above the surface." [45]

For people raised under the very different circumstances of our own time it is difficult to form a conception of the conditions often prevailing in the small pioneer log cabins and sod huts. At one time seven families were living in one log cabin in the Koshkonong settlement, according to Mrs. J. D. Jacobsen. They were young people without children, but even so the situation is difficult to understand. Dr. Magelssen at one time had seven typhoid fever patients in one cabin at Highland Prairie, Iowa, but all recovered. He says that the sick and the well were often forced to occupy the same bed and in a little room where several persons were sick with fever food and milk stood in open vessels on a small shelf not far from the beds of the patients. Kitchen utensils were often so scarce that the sick and the well had to use the same spoons and dishes. One family had so few utensils that they were obliged to cook their food in the cover of a milk can. Great squalor prevailed in many of these primitive homes and the most ordinary rules of health were ignored often enough. Jens J. Naeset of the Koshkonong settlement has told of a little boy who licked an unwashed spoon used by a cholera patient but did not contract the disease. Sometimes the squalor reached the point of the ludicrous. Once upon entering the cabin of a sick man Dr. Magelssen noticed something moving in the bed beside the patient and suddenly he heard the loud "moo"

[45] Løvenskjold, in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8: 87.

of a newborn calf. Fearing that the calf might die in the cold winter weather, the man had taken it to bed with him. With the tiny cabin serving as a cookroom, a washroom, a bedroom for many persons, and a storehouse for food and milk as well as for numerous other articles, who shall blame the busy housewife if it often presented the appearance of discomfort and disorder? But life obeys its own laws and in the midst of it all children were born and the sick and dying were nursed to life or laid away in death.

The mortality early in life must have been high. In a Wisconsin settlement that escaped epidemics 194 deaths are recorded in the church books from 1855, when the first death took place, to 1865; and of these, as shown in the following table, no less than 94 were deaths of children under five years.

DEATHS, COON PRAIRIE SETTLEMENT, 1855–65

Ages	Number
0-5 years	94[46]
6-10 years	19
11-20 years	17
21-30 years	16
31-40 years	13
41-50 years	2
51-60 years	3
61-70 years	8
Above 70 years	7
Unknown	15
Total	194

The medical aid given the sick in the early settlements was often crude and inadequate. As there was no field for remunerative medical practice among the first pioneers, no physicians from Norway accompanied the early immigrants. Medical assistance was therefore often limited to questionable

[46] There were twenty-two deaths of children under one month, not including stillbirths.

remedies recommended by "wise" women, superstitious old men, or unscrupulous quacks, all of which did little good and sometimes a great deal of harm. In the Koshkonong settlement, John Smith, a Swede by birth, a man of questionable character, served for a time as both clergyman and physician. Another such quack in the same settlement in the sixties is described by Svein Nilsson, editor of the *Illustreret Billed-Magazin,* as follows:

> Some years ago Cambridge (Wis.) became a center of pilgrimage for sick people, not only from Wisconsin, but from Iowa, Minnesota, and other places. At that time the goddess of medicine revealed herself in the form of a woman. A midwife from Norway, who was living there, began practice as a medical doctor and soon gained widespread reputation for her miraculous cures. The influx of people was immense, and many had to wait for days before they could get an opportunity to speak to her. Early and late she was busy. No case was so difficult that she could not cure it with her medicines, pills and powders. She was a necromancer on a large scale, and was regarded as a person of extraordinary gifts, her reputation increasing with the distance which people had to travel to see her. But her knowledge of medicine does not seem to have been very profound. When she ordered her supply of medicine from the drug-store, her orders read about as follows: 'Send me medicines of different tastes and colors; bitter, sour and sweet; also different kinds of powders, and large and small pills; and also sirup for the children'. But no matter what medicine she administered the people thought that she had cured them. For many years she continued her practice to the surprise of those who knew her qualifications. She was the Mother Saether [*a noted healer in Norway*] of the Norwegians in America. But finally the deception became manifest. Her practice fell off, and finally ceased altogether. Now only the memory is left of the extent to which a bold humbugger can prey upon a gullible and ignorant public.[47]

Dr. Magelssen, in describing conditions in the Norwegian settlement founded at Rushford, Minnesota, in 1853, tells of two Norwegian "doctors," Holm and Frøken, who practiced as physicians there in early days. One of them had been a clerk in a drug-store in Norway for a short time and this serv-

[47] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin,* 1 : 399.

ice seems to have been the extent of his medical training. At one time the two performed an operation upon a woman; and when the patient died the people became so angry that the "doctors" had to leave. At North Prairie, between Rushford and Lanesboro, there were two Norwegian farmers, Romøringen and Hallingen, honest and well-meaning men, who practiced bloodletting, cupping, and the administering of more or less harmless remedies. Some of these home-remedy quacks could also set broken limbs; and after setting a limb it was their practice to give the patient the filings of an old brass comb, which, they thought, would serve as a solder for joining the broken bones. A poultice of sheep dung was regarded as a good remedy for tuberculosis and the dung of a young heifer was considered an effective remedy for certain ailments. In the Norwegian settlement at Highland Prairie in Fillmore County, Minnesota, lived a man known as "King Haakon," or as "the king," who practiced cupping and bloodletting and who could also cure toothache by putting a wooden peg into the hollow of a tooth, mumbling some charm over it, and then throwing the peg into the well of his neighbor, Elling Peerson, who became so offended that the bitterest hostility existed between the two. In Rushford lived an old bachelor, Sone Knudsen, who had acquired so much knowledge of medicine by nursing the sick during the cholera epidemics that he served as family physician for several families in the settlement. Similar quacks and home-remedy men were found in all the early Norwegian settlements.

Another source of medical assistance sought by many in their need were the patent medicines. In the first Norwegian newspapers published in this country the patent-medicine quack appears with his showy advertisements of his wonder-working remedies.[48] In *Nordlyset* one druggist advertises

[48] These early Norwegian newspapers were *Nordlyset* (Racine, Wisconsin), 1847–50; *Demokraten* (Racine, Wisconsin), 1850-51; *De Norskes Ven* (Madison, Wisconsin), 1850; *Friheds-Banneret* (Chicago), 1852–53; and *Emigranten* (Madison, Wisconsin), which first appeared in 1852.

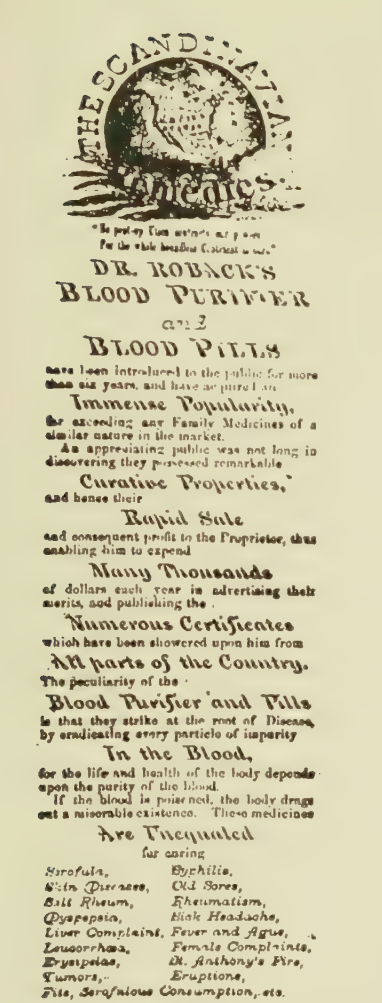

THE SCANDINAVIAN
Vegetable
Remedies
DR. ROBACK'S
BLOOD PURIFIER
and
BLOOD PILLS
have been introduced to the public for more than six years, and have acquired an
Immense Popularity,
far exceeding any Family Medicines of a similar nature in the market.
An appreciating public was not long in discovering they possessed remarkable
Curative Properties,
and hence their
Rapid Sale
and consequent profit to the Proprietor, thus enabling him to expend
Many Thousands
of dollars each year in advertising their merits, and publishing the
Numerous Certificates
which have been showered upon him from
All parts of the Country.
The peculiarity of the
Blood Purifier and Pills
is that they strike at the root of Disease, by eradicating every particle of impurity
In the Blood,
for the life and health of the body depends upon the purity of the blood.
If the blood is poisoned, the body drags out a miserable existence. These medicines
Are Unequaled
for curing
Scrofula, Syphilis,
Skin Diseases, Old Sores,
Salt Rheum, Rheumatism,
Dyspepsia, Sick Headache,
Liver Complaint, Fever and Ague,
Leucorrhœa, Female Complaints,
Erysipelas, St. Anthony's Fire,
Tumors, Eruptions,
Fits, Scrofulous Consumption, etc.
ONE person writes, her daughter was cured of Fits of nine years' standing, and St Vitus dance of two years
ANOTHER writes, his son was cured after his flesh had almost wasted away
The doctors pronounced the case incurable
ANOTHER was cured of Fever and Ague after trying every medicine in his reach
ANOTHER was cured of Fever Sore which had existed fourteen years
ANOTHER of Rheumatism of eight years
Cases innumerable of Dyspepsia and Liver Complaint could be mentioned in which the Purifier and Pills
Work like a Charm.
The Blood Pills
are the most active and thorough pills that have ever been introduced.
They act so directly upon the Liver, exciting that organ to such an extent as that the system does not relapse into its former condition, which is too apt to be the case with simply a purgative pill.
They are really a
Blood and Liver Pill,
which, in conjunction with the
Blood Purifier,
will cure all the aforementioned diseases, and, of themselves, will relieve and cure
Headache, Costiveness,
Colic Pains, Cholera Morbus,
Indigestion, Pain in the Side,
Dizziness, etc.
Try these medicines, and you will never regret it
Ask your neighbors, who have used them, and they will say they are
Good Medicines,
and you should try them before going for a physician.
Get a Pamphlet or Almanac of my local agent, and read the certificates, and if you have ever doubted you will
Doubt no more.
As a proof that the Blood Purifier and Pills are purely vegetable, I have the satisfaction of the following testimonial
Professor Chilton of N. Y. and Professor Emmanuel
Read Dr. Roback's Special Notices and Certificates published in a supplement to this Paper from time to time
Price of the Scandinavian Vegetable Blood Purifier $1 per bottle, or $5 per half Dozen
Price of the Scandinavian Vegetable Blood Pills 25 cents per box
Principal Office and Laboratory, No. 4 East Fourth St., Building, [illegible]
No. 10 Hanover Street
FOR SALE BY

FIG. 4. A PATENT MEDICINE ADVERTISEMENT, 1863

that he sells "the best, most reliable and excellent 'Fever and Ague' medicines, the strength and effect of which he guarantees." In another place in the same paper he advertises fever and ague medicines, guaranteed to cure without fail,

and blood purifying remedies which will cure colds, tuberculosis, pneumonia, liver complaint, and other ailments. "Come one and all," he says, "who believe in good remedies, and prefer good health to sickness and misery." He also sells Golden Drops for liniment and Balsam for rheumatism. Other advertisements tell of "the great remedy . . . the famous and original Arabian Liniment for human beings and animals." And then there were Halloway's Salve and Pills. The pills could cure malaria, headache, all kinds of fevers, epilepsy, rheumatism, colic, venereal diseases, jaundice, liver complaint, constipation, indigestion, gravel, female diseases, dropsy, and so forth. Any ailment which the advertiser neglected to mention when he recommended the pills as an absolute cure could be cured by the salve, which was a sure remedy in cases of sore feet, burns, swollen glands, backache, skin diseases, sores, boils, cancer, mosquito bites, sore throat, scurvy, and rheumatism. The market was overstocked with such panaceas for all human ills [fig. 4]. There were Ayer's Pills, "a remedy for all diseases," concocted by James C. Ayer. There were Dr. David Jayne's "famous Family remedies," H. Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, S. T. Townsend's Sarsaparilla, Corbett's Shaker Sarsaparilla, Ginsott's Yellow Dock and Sarsaparilla, Dr. J. S. Houghton's Pepsin, and "Dr. Philotokon, or the Family Friend," to mention only a few. What need was there of being sick and miserable when there were so many unfailing remedies for all the ills to which human flesh is heir? Undoubtedly many of the settlers thought that there was no need, as some people are still in the habit of thinking, and the patent medicine quacks reaped a lucrative harvest.

These patent remedies as well as common drugs were sold in general stores together with other staple wares for the household. The small volume of trade made it impossible to specialize and drugs had to be handled like other commodities in the early general store, which aimed to administer to every want of the household. Real drug-stores were found, as a rule, only in the larger cities. Moreover, there were few

trained pharmacists who understood the nature of the drugs which they sold, as is evidenced by the advertisements of those days, and the people had to use their own judgment in buying what they thought they needed. Thomas Hecking of Rochester, Wisconsin, dealt in medicines, chemicals, and groceries. Later he entered into partnership with De Verard and sold medicines, chemicals, oils, paints, groceries, clothing, and so forth.[49] Thompson and Company of Ottawa, Illinois, dealt in dry goods, groceries, crockery, and medicines. A. H. Morgan of Waterford, Wisconsin, advertises as follows in *Nordlyset:*

> Yes Nels — How do you do — It is true that I have lots of fine coffee for sale, and besides I have all sorts of things, among others Poor Man's Pills, a very good laxative, which costs only one shilling; Sirup of Hoarhound, which cures cough without fail; mercury, magnesia, camphor, cream-of-tartar, red pepper, black pepper, Epsom salt, sulphur, borax, salve for itch and scab, tartar emitic for vomiting, percussion caps, powder, shots, Poor Man's Plaster for sore back, slates, pencils, school books of all kinds, mouse traps, Wineas' Vermifuge, which never fails to cure children for worms, violin strings, salve for lousy cattle, shoe-pegs, shoemaker's pitch, and many other things which I could tell you about, if you did not have to leave Ola waiting outside. You must tell your wife to call and see Morgan in Waterford.[50]

Even in drug-stores the staple articles most commonly sold seem to have been patent medicines. H. M. Hanson of Milwaukee advertised in 1847 that he had opened a new drug-store and that he sold the most tried and excellent fever and ague cure, the strength and effect of which he guaranteed.[51] S. Johnson of the same place advertised in 1850 that he was a wholesale and retail dealer in all branches of medicine — patent medicines, Thompsonian medicines, Shakers' herbs and extracts, surgical and dental instruments, glass, et cetera.[52]

[49] *Nordlyset,* December 23, 1847.

[50] Johannes W. C. Dietrichson, *Reise blandt de norske Emigranter i de forenede nordamerikanske Fristater,* 105 ff. (Stavanger, Norway, 1846). Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* index.

[51] *Nordlyset,* September 23, 1847.

[52] *Nordlyset,* February 23, 1850.

As physicians were few and often far away, the settlers avoided as far as possible both the trouble and the expense connected with consulting them. The doctor was called only in extreme cases and his visit to a home was generally taken as a sure indication that some one was lying at the point of death. The druggist and the patent-medicine vender were more easily reached and, as their advice could be had without cost, they were the medical advisers most frequently consulted. Often pretending a medical knowledge which they did not possess, they became, no less than the glowing newspaper advertisements, influential agents in distributing to the public the products of the patent-medicine quacks.

But even in those days there were some who rendered noble and valuable medical aid, though they could lay claim to no real medical knowledge. Such were Mrs. Johan Nordboe, who practiced as midwife in the Kendall settlement; Gunhild Grovum, who came to Koshkonong some time prior to 1847 and served as midwife there; Anne Springen, who was a midwife in the Koshkonong settlement in early days; also Sønnøva Knutson, midwife in the St. Ansgar settlement in Mitchell County, Iowa. And there was Alberta (Ulfers) Hanssen, wife of Dr. Søren Johan Hanssen of Cambridge, Wisconsin, who during the Civil War served as nurse in the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment, in which her husband was a military surgeon [fig. 5]. These are only a few of the many brave women who labored heroically in these important fields of medical work.

There were also a few honest medical practitioners in the early Norwegian settlements who had received no professional training but who possessed high intelligence and qualities of leadership and who, through self-training and varied experience, were able to render the settlers valuable aid. To these men the people turned for assistance and advice and, as this was freely given without pay, they naturally occupied a position of esteem and confidence among the settlers. Men of this

Fig. 5. Alberta (Ulfers) Hanssen

Fig 6. Ingebret Larson Narvig

Fig. 7. Dr. Hans Christian Brandt

Fig. 8. Dr. Johan Christian Brotkorb Dundas

type were Gudmund Haugaas, Ingebret Larson Narvig, and Johan Nordboe.

Gudmund Haugaas, one of the immigrants who came to America in the sloop "Restaurationen" and settled at Kendall, New York, practiced medicine with success among the early immigrants. He was by trade a wheelwright, but he was intelligent and well read. In the Kendall colony he married Julia Madland, who bore him ten children. In 1834 he moved to the Fox River settlement in Illinois, where his wife died in 1846. He later married Caroline Hervig, who died in 1852. In Illinois Haugaas became a leader in the Mormon church, with the title of "Highpriest of the Order of Melchizedec in the Church of the Latterday-Saints." He died of cholera on his farm near Ottawa, Illinois, on July 28, 1849. One of his sons by his first wife became a priest in the Mormon church.[53]

Ingebret Larson Narvig, a Quaker, came to Boston in 1831 at the age of twenty-one and made his way on foot to the Norwegian settlement in Kendall. In 1833 he left that colony with Cleng Peerson in search of a better location for a new settlement in the West. When they reached Detroit, Narvig hired out to a farmer not far from that city, where he remained for many years, picking up some knowledge of medicine during spare moments. As he seems not to have studied medicine in Norway, his knowledge in that field could not have been extensive, but he practiced medicine to some extent among the American people of the neighborhood. He was a quiet, conscientious, and religious man [fig. 6]. His daughter says of him:

He was born near Stavanger, Norway, January 8, 1808. His father owned the farm he lived on and was by occupation a farmer on a small scale, keeping at the same time a number of cattle, sheep and goats. My father's youth was spent in taking care of the sheep and goats in the rocky hills of grandfather's

[53] Dietrichson, *Reise blandt de norske Emigranter*, 105 ff.; Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, index.

farm, and at the same time he studied religious books, catechism, etc. of the Lutheran Church. In that church he was confirmed as a small boy. But his heart was not with the faith of his fathers, and he became a member of the Quaker Society in 1826, when he was only eighteen years old. He loved and revered the teachings of the Friends throughout his long life. He served as sailor for a short time, but his companions were so rough and profane that he left the sea after one voyage. In 1831 he came to America and settled in Michigan in 1833. In 1840, while living in Michigan, ten miles from Adrian, Lawrence County, he married Lydia E. Smith of Farmington, N. Y. Two children were born to them: Even D. and Gilbert B. These two children, he often said to me, were as dear to him as the apple of his eye. Lydia died in 1844. Her death came to him like a cloud in a clear sky, and was the first great sorrow of his life. In 1847 he married Chloe A., a sister of Lydia, and my mother. In 1856 he moved to Wisconsin, and bought a farm in Green Lake County, three miles from the village of Marquette. There he lived and did quite well as a farmer. His son Even died at the age of twenty-one, and once more his heart was filled with the deepest grief. In 1876 my mother passed away, and then his home was broken up. After many discouraging experiences with renters he sold the farm and came to Minnesota in 1885, and made his home with Gilbert and myself, living with us alternately. He passed to the great beyond, January, 1892, at the age of eighty-four, at the home of his son Gilbert, and was buried, January 23 in the cemetery near the village of Tyler, Minnesota, far from the land of his birth, and far from the graves of his mother, wives and child.

Narvig did not use his knowledge of medicine for pecuniary gain. For his services as doctor he never charged anything, but did it all for charity.[54]

Johan Nordboe, an itinerant physician from Ringebu, Gud brandsdal, Norway, came to America in 1832 and settled in the Norwegian colony in Kendall, New York, where his wife practiced as midwife. He had received no medical training, but such services as he could render were welcome, as no medical aid could be secured by the first settlers in the wilder-

[54] Letter from J. F. Fries to Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, June 6, 1907, in Luther College Archives; Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 141–146, 179–182, 220, 356, 367, 396, 430; Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, 52 ff., 114. Narvig's daughter is Carena Vine of Porter, Minnesota.

ness. He vaccinated children in the colony and gave the sick medical assistance. He was unable to agree with the settlers, however, and, being especially piqued by the authority exercised by their leader, Cleng Peerson, he moved to Fox River, Illinois, in 1836. The following year he moved to Shelby County, Missouri, where Cleng Peerson had founded a new Norwegian settlement. In 1838 he moved again, this time to Dallas County, Texas, where he secured for himself and his family a large tract of land embracing 1,920 acres. So far as is known, he was the first Norwegian settler in Texas. His wife and three sons accompanied him. His daughter stayed at Fox River, where she married George Johnson, one of the Norwegian immigrants who came to America in the sloop "Restaurationen" in 1825. Nordboe was living in Dallas County when the Norwegian pioneer, J. R. Reiersen, went to Texas in 1843. He preferred to live apart from his countrymen, but he longed to see them. When a Norwegian settlement was founded at Four Mile Prairie, he walked the long distance from Dallas to spend the Christmas holidays with them in 1851. With Cleng Peerson he seems to have become fully reconciled. In a letter to R. B. Anderson, Mrs. Elise Wærenskjold, one of the leading settlers in the Norwegian colony in Texas, described him as a student of history and science, possessing skill in drawing and talent for sculpture. She says that he was a kind, small, feeble, old man. From Dallas he moved to Tarrant County, where he died some time in the sixties. His widow and sons then moved to California.[55]

Even though there was slight opportunity at first for remunerative professional service in the newly founded Norwegian settlements, the untrained medical practitioners were soon replaced in some of the settlements by properly trained physicians. The first educated Norwegian physician who offered

[55] Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 138 ff.; Holand, *De norske Settlementers Historie*, 30, 87; Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, 52, 122, 153.

his services to the Norwegian immigrants in America was Hans Christian Brandt, son of a baker, Christian Brandt, and Caroline Winge Brandt, born on March 16, 1814, in Christiansand, Norway [fig. 7]. In 1833 he went to Oslo, where for a year and a half he taught in the normal school. He then entered upon the study of medicine in the University of Oslo and took the required medical examination in 1838. During the following two years he served as military surgeon in Fredriksværn. In 1840, at the age of twenty-six, he emigrated to America, as some claim, because of an unhappy love affair and devoted himself to medical practice among his countrymen in various places in Illinois. Before very long he moved to Iowa, where he bought a farm. After a short stay in that state he moved to Indiana, where he practiced medicine among the Americans and established a great reputation as an able physician. Later he went to Kansas City, Missouri, where he practiced for many years and accumulated a considerable fortune. Here he died unmarried in 1893.[56]

Theodor Alexander Schytte, son of a merchant, Peter Schytte, and Sophie Tyrholm Schytte, was born on April 5, 1812, in Fredrikshald, Norway. He received his preliminary education in the schools of his own town and later entered upon the study of medicine in the University of Oslo. After his graduation in 1840 he was engaged in hospital practice in Oslo for some time and later became a practicing physician in Sørum. From November, 1841, until December, 1842, he served as assistant surgeon in the Bratsberg Amt Hospital. In 1843 he went to America as physician on an immigrant ship and established himself as practicing physician in the Norwegian settlement at Koshkonong, Wisconsin. He found the practice among the poor immigrants very unsatisfactory and in the winter of 1847–48 he returned to Norway. In 1848 he was appointed district physician in Finmarken and the following year he died at Vardø. After his return he brought out

[56] I. Kobro, *Norges Laeger 1800–1908*, 1:149.

at Stockholm in 1849 a book entitled *Vägledning for Emigranter* ("Guide for Emigrants").[57]

Johan Christian Brotkorb Dundas (Dass), son of the merchant Isak Jørgen Coldevin Dass and Kornelia Flor Strøm Dass, was born at Lurey, Helgeland, Norway, in 1812 [fig. 8]. He was a descendant of Benjamin Petersen Dass (Dundas), a brother of the celebrated poet and clergyman, Petter Dass (Dundas), whose father had emigrated from Scotland to Norway in 1647 because of religious persecution in his own country. Dundas received his preliminary education in the Bergen schools and later entered upon the study of medicine. Svein Nilsson, editor of *Illustreret Billed-Magazin*, says of him:

Johan Christian Dass (Dundas) studied medicine for three years at the University of Christiania (Oslo), and went then to Copenhagen, and later to Germany to continue his studies. He then served as assistant physician in the Bergen hospital for two years, when he again went abroad and studied for some time in the universities of Upsala, Sweden; Helsingfors, Finland; and in Germany and Switzerland. Being then employed as doctor on a Dutch man-of-war sailing to Java he remained in that country as practicing physician for about three years. He then went as ship physician on an immigrant ship to America. In New York he met Consul Løvenskjold, who had recently returned from a visit to the Norwegian settlement at Koshkonong, and who requested him to go there and help his countrymen in the new colony, as they were sorely afflicted with malarial fever. Soon after his arrival in Wisconsin he effected a couple of cures which established his reputation as an able physician. But soon cholera began to rage in the Northwest, and Dundas then went to Chicago and St. Louis, where he practiced as long as the epidemic lasted. After a two years' trip to China and Japan, and a stay of nine months in London, he returned to Koshkonong, and has since resided in Cambridge. Dundas has performed many operations which belong to the most difficult known to medical science. Not only among his own countrymen, but also by the Americans he is regarded as one of the ablest medical doctors in the Northwest. Through diligent study and extensive reading he has trained his

[57] F. C. Kjaer, *Norges Laeger i det nittende Aarhundrede (1800–1886)*, 2: 325.

mind and developed interest for everything which denotes progress in every line.[58]

This biographical sketch, which undoubtedly rests upon information given by the doctor himself, is no doubt in large part correct. But it is noteworthy that Dundas' name does not appear upon the roll of students at the University of Oslo, where he is said to have studied medicine for three years.[59] The year 1815 is given by his biographers as the year of his birth, but the records show that he was born in 1812. His biographers also state that he came to America in 1850 or 1851. In 1847, however, he published in *Nordlyset* the following announcement:

> I take the liberty herewith to announce to my honored countrymen in Wisconsin that I will practice as physician at Koshkonong Prairie, and as I have already practiced as such for some time, I hope that those of my countrymen who are in need of medical assistance will show me that sincere confidence which I hope I shall always deserve.
>
> JOHAN CHR. DAS (DUNDAS)
> Doctor Medicinae from Norway

This announcement was repeated in many succeeding issues of the paper, which would scarcely have been done if the doctor were not already in America; and since upon his arrival in New York he met Consul Løvenskjold, who had recently returned from his visit to the Koshkonong settlement, which he made in 1847, it is quite certain that Dr. Dundas first came to America in that year. The cholera epidemic which broke out after his arrival must have been the epidemic of 1849. It is also to be noted that Dr. Dundas was not descended from the poet, Petter Dass, as his biographers generally state, but from Petter Dass's brother, Benjamin Petersen Dass.[60]

[58] Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 399.

[59] Letter from Prosector H. Hopstock, secretary of the medical faculty of the University of Oslo, Norway, September 9, 1923, in Luther College Archives.

[60] Extract from the genealogical collection of Jacob Horneman in the State Archives at Trondhjem, in Luther College Archives.

In early days the practice of medicine was often attended by great difficulties, as there were no hospitals and the most necessary medical supplies were often wanting. The anæsthetic properties of ether and chloroform had been discovered in 1846 and 1847, but as some time passed before these great aids to medical practice came into common use, we hear of Dr. Dundas still performing important operations without the use of anæsthetics.

Dr. Dundas had a personality so marked that no one who met him could forget him. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, who became acquainted with him in this country, regarded him as one of the most remarkable persons he had ever met. Ole Bull was very fond of him and visited him twice in his home in Cambridge, Wisconsin. "He was, no doubt, a very remarkable character," says one writer, " very eccentric, rough, and possibly conceited. He treated his colleagues with the greatest contempt. But he must have been a doctor of considerable ability — above the average country doctors in those days." He seems to have possessed a fearlessness and a practical judgment which enabled him to act with great success in critical situations. But because of his impressive personality, his haughty bearing, and the hard-handed way in which he treated many, the people stood in awe and fear of him and called him only in very serious cases. When Henrik Lien, a boy in the Koshkonong settlement, became ill with pneumonia his parents called a doctor, who gave the patient various medicines to be taken at intervals according to directions. The case grew critical, however, and they finally decided to call Dr. Dundas. When he came into the poorly ventilated log cabin, he immediately ordered the windows to be opened. The parents thought that this would mean the death of their boy, but they dared not disobey the stern and terrible doctor. The windows were opened and the cold winter blast swept through the little cabin. Wringing her hands the mother whimpered, " Dr. Dundas will kill our boy! " Then the doctor drew up his tall, dark figure before her and said in his customary gruff tone,

"Do you not understand that a person with sick lungs needs air?" The windows had to remain open. Then he examined the bottles of medicine on the chair in front of the bed and flung them all through the window with the angry remark, "And such a fellow you call a doctor!" The boy recovered, became a prominent man in the Koshkonong settlement, and lived to a ripe old age.

Dr. Dundas was a man of literary taste. In his later years he was a prolific writer of verse, much of which was printed in the Norwegian papers in this country. But the plan which he had long cherished of publishing a collection of his poems was never carried out. In 1856 he married Malina E. Tracy, a woman of American birth. He died in Madison, Wisconsin, on April 17, 1883.[61]

Gerhard Styhr Christian Hjort Paoli, son of Pascal Paoli (Essendrop) and his wife, Bolette Regitze (Lehne) Paoli, was born in Trondhjem, Norway, on June 23, 1815 [fig. 6].[62] At the age of fourteen he became a clerk in a drug-store and

[61] Letters to Dr. Ludvig Hektoen from Professor Julius E. Olson, February 26, 1911, and from Mrs. Malina Dundas, March 1, 1911, and obituary of Dr. Dundas by Professor Olson in Luther College Archives. See also *History of Dane County, Wisconsin*, 1171 ff. (Chicago, 1880); *Verdens Gang*, April, 1883; *Folkebladet* (Minneapolis), May 10, 1883; Olof N. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States*, 2: 342 ff. (first edition, Minneapolis, 1893–97); and *Nordlyset*, 1847–48.

[62] Letter from Prosector H. Hopstock, University of Oslo, Norway, September 9, 1923; extract copied by S. H. Finne-Grønn from the "Inscriptions Protokol" of the medical faculty of the University of Oslo, in Luther College Archives. According to the report copied by Archivist Finne-Grønn from the archives in Oslo, Pascal Paoli (Essendrop), the father of Dr. Paoli, was the son of Andreas Essendrop (a brother of Bishop Essendrop of Oslo) and Susanne Cathrine Gabrielsdatter. Andreas Essendrop is said to have visited the island of Corsica about 1770, at the time when the revolutionary leader Pascal (Pasquale) Paoli ruled the island, and when a son was born to him, he named him Pascal Paoli in honor of the revolutionary leader, whom he admired. Pascal Paoli (Essendrop) was baptized at Copenhagen in 1770, and when he grew up,

remained in that service until 1839, when he began the study of medicine at the University of Oslo. He did not possess the required knowledge to enter the regular course of study; but at that time an arrangement existed according to which students might be exempted from taking the degree of bachelor of arts and, after passing a preliminary examination, were allowed to pursue the study of medicine and to take examination in that branch. Such students were known as *praeliminarister*. This was the course taken by Paoli, who, according to the records, continued his studies at the university until 1844.[63] After failing three times to pass the required examination, he went to Stockholm, Sweden, where he continued the study of medicine in the Carolingian Institute and the Serafimer Lazaret and was licensed to engage in medical practice. Because of his attractive personality he was very popular and became a member of many societies. In politics as well as in religion he was a liberal. In 1846 he emigrated to America in a sailing vessel. From New York he followed other immigrants bound for the West and finally arrived in Milwaukee. After a short stay there he went to Madison,

he became a merchant in Oslo, but in 1799 he was convicted of counterfeiting, and was sentenced to lose his right hand. This sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he was placed in the fortress of Munkholmen, near Trondhjem, in 1803. Six years later he was pardoned and set free. In the fortress he was well liked and enjoyed such liberty that he was able to win the love of Bolette Regitze Lehne, daughter of Mogens Lehne, the commandant of the fortress. He married her on November 1, 1811. Probably because of his imprisonment he dropped the family name, Essendrop, and was henceforth known as Pascal Paoli. He and his wife made their home in Trondhjem for some years, where their son Gerhard, the later Chicago doctor, was born. But shortly after 1818 Pascal Paoli emigrated to America, finding employment as quack-doctor, dentist and druggist, until his death in 1828. His wife died in Trondhjem on October 4, 1848.

[63] Report of H. M. Gram, director of the "civile Medicinalvaesen," Oslo, Norway, August 18, 1923; extract copied by S. H. Finne-Grønn from the "Inscriptions Protokol" of the medical faculty of the University of Oslo, in Luther College Archives.

Wisconsin, at that time a village of about two hundred people, and without delay he appeared before the local authorities, declared his intention of becoming an American citizen, and received his first papers. He remained in Madison about six months and then went to Springfield, Ohio. In Springfield he established himself as a practicing physician and took an active part in political life, supporting the Abolition candidate, John H. Hall, in the presidential campaign of 1852.

Throughout his active career Paoli's interest was centered chiefly in the study of chemistry. He invented a process by which fusel-oil could be separated from alcohol, a discovery for which he received a medal at the Crystal Palace exposition in New York in 1853. Soon afterwards Dr. J. V. Z. Blaney, a professor in Rush Medical College, persuaded him to move to Chicago, where the two formed a company and built a distillery in which Paoli's new process was to be used. While engaged in this venture Paoli continued his practice as a physician. Two years later the distillery was destroyed by fire and, as it carried little insurance, the Blaney-Paoli Company was financially ruined. Paoli was now forced to devote himself even more energetically than before to his practice of medicine, but he still found opportunity to take an active part in political life. When the Republican party was organized in 1856 he joined it and worked so diligently for its success that he was made chairman of the city campaign committee. He wrote articles in the Norwegian papers and made campaign speeches both in Chicago and in many rural districts. In recognition of his political services as well as of his ability as a physician he was appointed city physician by Mayor Wentworth and was reappointed by Mayor Haines. In 1866 he was granted an honorary degree of doctor of medicine by Rush Medical College. He was an honorary member of the Ohio Medical Society and a corresponding member of many other medical societies. Twice he was elected president of the Chicago Medical Society and twice vice-president. He was one of the founders of the Women's Medical College in Chi-

Fig. 9. Dr. G. S. C. H. Paoli

Fig. 10 Dr. Sören Johan Hanssen

Fig. 12. Dr. Stephen Oliver Himoe

Fig. 13. Dr. Niles Theodore Quales

cago, an institution in which he was professor emeritus at the time of his death. Being favorably inclined to all liberal views, he also supported the women's movement and advocated women's suffrage. He was a Mason of high standing, having joined the order in 1856. He was also one of the founders of the Scandinavian Medical Society of Chicago, organized in 1887. At the celebration of its tenth anniversary in Chicago in 1897 he was guest of honor, but was then so old and frail that he felt that he would not again meet the society. He died quietly on January 30, 1898, and was buried from the central lodge Number 33 of the A. F. and O. M. His old friend, Judge Patterson, speaking at the funeral, gave a sketch of his life and praised him as a physician, friend, and citizen. Throughout his whole life he had been an enthusiastic advocate of liberty and a generous friend to the poor.[64]

Bernhard I. Madsen was born in Bergen, Norway, where his father was engaged in the lumber and shipbuilding industries. He studied medicine, probably as a *præliminarist,* at the University of Oslo and had been engaged in medical practice for about five years when he emigrated to America with his wife and children. He established himself as practicing physician in Chicago in 1851 and remained there about five years. He then moved to Cambridge, Wisconsin, where he continued in general medical practice for a few years until he died, according to report, of typhus (typhoid?) fever. Together with a few others Dr. Madsen built at Cambridge the first Norwegian Methodist church ever erected. His wife was Ingeborg Nordal Madsen. They had five children.[65]

[64] Conradine Dunker, *Gamle Dage: Erindringer og Tidsbilleder* (Copenhagen, 1871); Balthasar Meyer, *A History of the Scandinavian Medical Society of Chicago,* 39 ff.; Algot E. Strand, ed., *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois,* 217 ff. (Chicago, 1905); *Verdens Gang* (Chicago), February 4, 1898; *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa), February 4, 1898; *Amerika og Norden,* February 9, 1898.

[65] Letter from Madsen's son, Martin G. Madsen, to Professor Knut Gjerset, January 31, 1924, in Luther College Archives; Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 399.

Possibly the ablest and best educated physician who came to the early Norwegian settlements was Søren Johan Hanssen, who was born in Skien, Norway, in 1820 [fig. 10]. At the age of fifteen he found employment in a lawyer's office and when he became of age he was made head instructor in the public schools of the city, a position coveted by many able teachers. He devoted his spare moments to study in the hope of being able to enter the university. He finally resigned as teacher and, after receiving the degree of bachelor of arts and passing the *examen philosophicum* with high honors, he began the study of medicine at the University of Oslo. He completed the medical course at the university in 1855 and practiced for a short time as physician in the government hospital in Oslo. Being a fearless and adventurous man he went to Denmark during the cholera epidemic there and practiced with success in Copenhagen until the epidemic subsided.

In the hope of improving his pecuniary circumstances, Hanssen emigrated to America in 1856 and went to the Koshkonong settlement in Wisconsin [fig. 11]. Because of his medical education and his recognized ability as a physician, he soon gained an extensive practice. In 1861, shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment was organized by Norwegian volunteers, with the brave officer, Hans Christian Heg, as colonel. Dr. Hanssen was appointed second surgeon of the regiment on November 11 of that year and accompanied it to Island No. 10. In that marshy and unhealthful region the efficient hospital service organized by the medical staff of the regiment aided greatly in preserving the health of the soldiers. Hanssen's brave wife, whom he had married shortly before leaving Norway, accompanied him as nurse and remained steadfastly at her post throughout his term of service in the army. From Island No. 10 he followed his regiment to Iuka in Mississippi, where he had charge of a general hospital. But he had contracted the ague, an ailment which forced him to resign on October 20,

1862. He returned to his practice as physician at Koshkonong, but suffered constantly from ague and dysentery. He was remembered by President C. K. Preus of Luther College as a large, powerful man with bushy eyebrows, dressed in his dark blue officer's uniform, lying on a sofa in front of the oven shivering with fever. He never applied for a pension and never received one, though he had fully earned it. In the hope that a change of climate might improve his health he returned to Norway in 1866 and was appointed district physician in Romsdal, where he died in 1885.

Dr. J. W. Magelssen, who succeeded Hanssen as physician at Koshkonong and who knew both Dr. Dundas and Dr. Hanssen, bought from Dr. Hanssen his house and land. "Hanssen had a two-room house, and a horse and a cow in a dugout in a hillside," says Dr. Magelssen. "When he was away on sick-calls, the horse would get hay and water, otherwise, when he was home, only if Mrs. Hanssen had time and opportunity to feed it. There was no well, and cistern water, he thought, was too good for animals. Dr. Dundas, on the other hand, was a real horseman, and took great pride in his black stallion, which he gave the best of care. Both Dr. Hanssen and Mrs. Hanssen were gifted persons, witty, and sharp-tongued as razors. Hanssen was quite a poet, and worked every day on a poem which, I believe was called *Det Evige Menneske* ["The Eternal Man"], something like Wergeland's 'Creation.' Once he wrote a lampoon about his neighbor Tollef Springen, which is something of the most humorous I have ever read. I regarded Dr. Hanssen at that time and do so yet, as a more gifted man and a better doctor than Dundas." In 1865 Dr. Hanssen published a work entitled *Orthodoxi og Kristendom* ("Orthodoxy and Christianity"). He had also planned to turn the Book of Revelation into verse, but does not seem to have carried it out. He was an ardent lover of freedom, and expressed his opinions freely on all topics. He was as upright as he was intelligent, but he had a violent

temper, and could brook little opposition. By his neighbors he was regarded as an infidel, which he probably was. The Reverend J. A. Ottesen, pastor at Koshkonong, has told that at one time when Dr. Hanssen was very sick with the ague he called on him, and, seated in front of his couch, talked to him about salvation and the life to come. Dr. Hanssen listened attentively and, when the pastor ceased talking, he remarked: "That is all very beautiful, Rev. Ottesen, but you know that such things are impossible." He often assailed the ministers violently, and consequently some of them would try to prejudice the people against him, with the result that many thought that they could not be saved if they were treated by Dr. Hanssen. But it was a general opinion that he was the ablest physician in that part of the country. Mrs. A. Ferman, of Haywood, California, who as a child stayed for many years in his home, speaks of him as a most kind-hearted and democratic man, but remarks that he was not fully understood or appreciated by his countrymen.[66]

Of the early Norwegian medical doctors who served in the United States Army in the Civil War must be mentioned also Stephen Oliver Himoe and Niles Theodore Quales [fig. 12]. Himoe was born in Norway on March 10, 1832. At the age of thirteen he came to America with his parents, who settled in Wisconsin. After graduating from the Plattville Academy he began the study of medicine in a medical college at St. Louis, Missouri, and upon completing his course he settled in Kansas, where he practiced medicine. When the Civil War broke out he became a surgeon in the Sixth Kansas Cavalry Regiment; but when the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment was organized by Norwegian volunteers, he resigned and joined that regiment as first surgeon. He had married a sister of

[66] Letters to Dr. Ludvig Hektoen from A. Ferman, 1911; Dr. J. W. Magelssen, August 13, September 30, 1907; and Professor C. K. Preus, February 26, 1911, in Luther College Archives; Paul Botten-Hansen, *Norske Studenter ved Kristiania Universitet*, 61; Nilsson, in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 399.

Colonel Heg, the commander of the regiment. When he received his commission on November 11, 1861, he was twenty-nine years old. He was with his regiment in the battles of Perryville and Murfreesboro, and in the battle of Chickamauga he had charge of the field hospitals at Crawfish Springs. On November 13, 1863, he resigned because of ill health, receiving the praise of the headquarters of the Army of the Cumberland for his efficient service. He then moved to Kansas City, Missouri, where he continued his practice until his death on April 19, 1904.[67]

Niles Theodore Quales, son of Torgils Johnson Øvrequale and his wife, Guri Torgilsdatter Tjoflat, was born in Kinservik, Norway, on January 17, 1831 [fig. 13]. As a boy he worked on his father's farm in the summers and attended school in the winters. At the age of seventeen he entered the agricultural school at Kvindherred, from which he was graduated in 1851. After spending a year as manager of a large estate at Utstein, near Stavanger, he went to Denmark and entered the Royal Veterinary College in Copenhagen and was graduated in 1856. On his return he was appointed veterinary surgeon for Søndre Bergenhus *Amt*. In 1859 he emigrated to America, and arrived at Chicago in July. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the army and was placed by General Sherman in charge of the veterinary hospital at Nashville, Tennessee, where he served until the expiration of his enlistment in 1864. He then entered Rush Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1866. After a competitive examination by the medical board of the Cook County Hospital he was appointed interne, the first in that hospital. From 1868 until 1870 Dr. Quales was city physician and had charge of the smallpox hospital in the epidemic of that time.

[67] Waldemar Ager, *Oberst Heg og hans Gutter*, 150 (Eau Claire, Wisconsin, 1916). Extracts from some of Himoe's Civil War letters are printed in Luther M. Kuhns, "An Army Surgeon's Letters to his Wife," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 7: 306–320 (1913–14).

In 1870 he was appointed surgeon to the United States Marine Hospital and he remained in charge of that hospital until it was destroyed in the great fire of 1871. In 1892 he helped to organize the Tabitha Hospital and in 1896 he aided in establishing the Lutheran Deaconess Home and Hospital in Chicago. For many years he was attending physician in these institutions. He was also one of the founders of the Norwegian Old People's Home in Norwood Park. In 1910 he was made knight of the Order of St. Olaf by King Haakon VII of Norway. He was a member of the Illinois State Medical Society and an honorary member of the Scandinavian-American Medical Society of Chicago of which he was president in 1894. In 1870 he married Miss Carrie L. Lawson. Dr. Quales was a quiet and earnest man and a trusted physician to whom patients, mostly Norwegians, flocked in large numbers.[68]

John T. Billington was born in Norway in 1832. When he came to America he entered upon the study of medicine in Rush Medical College. After his graduation from this school he established himself in November, 1861, as a physician in Decorah, Iowa, where he practiced until within a short time of his death. He died in Decorah on February 1, 1893.[69]

Some Norwegian doctors who came to America in early years did not remain long enough to render their countrymen in the pioneer settlements any appreciable aid. Their sojourns here were rather in the nature of visits, which enabled them to observe general conditions. In this connection may be mentioned men like Dr. Holmboe and Dr. Anders Daae. Jens Andreas Holmboe, born in Bergen, Norway, on November 18, 1827, was the son of Rector Hans Holmboe and Welgierd

[68] *History of Medicine and Surgery and Physicians and Surgeons, Chicago, 1819–1922*. Meyer, *Scandinavian-American Medical Society of Chicago*, 52; Strand, *Norwegians of Illinois*, 453 ff.

[69] *Decorah Republican*, November 28, 1861; Winneshiek County records.

Fig. 14. Dr. Jens Andreas Holmboe

Fig. 15. Dr. Anders Daae

Fig. 16. Dr. Herman Wedel Major

Endriette Løberg Holmboe [fig. 14]. Upon his graduation from the medical department of the University of Oslo in 1853 he was appointed district physician in Yttre Hardanger, where he served until 1858, when he moved to Bergen. Here he served as physician in the hospitals for lepers until 1861, when he was appointed city physician. In 1863 he came to America with the intention of entering the United States Army as surgeon and also for the purpose of studying leprosy among the Norwegian immigrants. He traveled through Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota and after the battle of Chickamauga he visited the military hospitals at Chattanooga. On receiving notice that he had been appointed head physician of the Bergen City Hospital he returned to Norway the same year. Dr. Holmboe married Sara Margarethe Paasche. He died July 26, 1876.[70]

Anders Daae, a second cousin of Dr. Anders Doe (Daae) of Chicago, was born in Bergen, Norway, on April 21, 1838 [fig. 15]. After he was graduated from the department of medicine of the University of Oslo in 1861, he entered the government service as army surgeon and physician for the fisheries. In 1864 he went to America with the intention of remaining there permanently. He visited several universities and hospitals and traveled about in the Norwegian settlements in the Northwest to become acquainted with conditions, practicing as physician here and there on his journeys. *Emigranten* for July 2, 1864, says that he will certainly find a hearty welcome among his countrymen, who with the exception of one or two settlements, are entirely without doctors in whom they can have any confidence. Dr. Daae returned to Norway after a short stay, as he did not like the conditions then prevailing in the medical profession here and also because of the religious intolerance, which, he says, he encountered everywhere. Upon his return to Norway he became physician

[70] Kjaer, *Norges Laeger*, 1: 500; Kobro, *Norges Laeger*, 1: 526.

at Kragerø, where he remained until 1887, when he became inspector-general of the penitentiary at Trondhjem.[71]

Herman Wedel Major may also be mentioned in this connection, though he is of interest only in relation to a tragedy incident to immigration [fig. 16]. He was born in Kristiansand, Norway, on February 23, 1814, and was graduated in medicine from the University of Oslo in 1842. In 1847 he was placed in charge of the Oslo Hospital for the Insane. He received a stipend from the government to study the diseases and care of the insane in foreign countries and upon his return was employed to organize proper hospital and medical service for insane patients at home. He took a leading part in preparing the law of August 17, 1848, touching this branch of medicine, as well as in the founding of the hospital for the insane at Gaustad. Of this institution he was chosen managing director, but he declined to accept the position. In 1854 he emigrated to America, sailing with his family on the ship "Arctic." The vessel collided with the "Vesta" outside of Sandy Hook, September 26, and Dr. Major and his whole family perished.[72]

The statement of *Emigranten* that, with the exception of one or two settlements, the early Norwegian settlers were entirely without physicians in whom they could have any confidence seems to be applicable in part especially to the period prior to 1845 or 1850, though in some frontier settlements the same condition prevailed later. During the early years physicians were few in the West and their training was often limited. Dr. C. R. Head of Albion, Wisconsin, near the Koshkonong settlement, entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York in 1844, but settled on a claim in Wisconsin the following year and had to practice as physician

[71] Letter from Dr. A. Daae to Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, June 23, 1907, in Luther College Archives; *Emigranten*, July 2, 1864; Botten-Hansen, *Norske Studenter ved Kristiania Universitet*, 84; Kjaer, *Norges Laeger*, 1: 219 ff; Kobro, *Norges Laeger*, 1: 228 ff.

[72] Kobro, *Norges Laeger*, 2: 93.

until 1847, when he was able to return to the medical school to complete his course.[73] Henry D. Adams located in Paris Township, Kenosha County, Wisconsin, in 1846 and at once entered into a large and lucrative practice, according to his biographer. But he entered Rush Medical College in 1850 and was graduated in 1852.[74] Marvin Waterhouse of Columbia County, Wisconsin, near the Spring Prairie and Bonnet Prairie settlements, was graduated from the Rush Medical College in 1860 but he had practiced as physician since 1855. William Meacher of the same county pursued a course of study at Rush Medical College and the following summer he practiced medicine in Waushara County, Wisconsin. He met with little success, however, and returned to the medical school, from which he was graduated in 1862.[75] Eugene W. Beebe of Evansville, Rock County, Wisconsin, was graduated from the Hahnemann Medical College in Chicago in 1865 but he had practiced medicine since 1860.[76]

The biographers of some of the early doctors do not enlighten us as to where they obtained their medical training. O. C. Magoon came to Whitewater, Walworth County, Wisconsin, in 1839 and engaged in medical practice until he died in the cholera epidemic of 1849.[77] Samuel R. McClellan came to Janesville, Wisconsin, as a physician in 1846, but his biographer does not state where he had studied medicine.[78] O. P. Robinson also established himself as a physician in Janesville in the same year, but nothing is said as to where he had obtained his medical training. Some of the early doctors had studied in the office of some practicing physician, but had attended no medical school. Horace B. Frink, who practiced in Dane and Rock counties, Wisconsin, had studied medicine with an allopathic doctor, but adopted homeopathic practice

[73] *The History of Dane County, Wisconsin*, 1185.
[75] *The History of Columbia County, Wisconsin*, 932 (Chicago, 1880).
[76] *The History of Rock County, Wisconsin*, 862 (Chicago, 1879).
[77] *History of Walworth County, Wisconsin*, 608 (Chicago, 1882).
[78] *History of Racine and Kenosha Counties*, 694.

after 1858, according to his biographer.[79] C. B. Bannister studied medicine with Dr. Samuel Fuller and later with Dr. L. Nash. He lived on a farm near Mukwanago, Waukesha County, Wisconsin, where he began practice as homeopathic physician in 1845.[80] Harman Gray came to Walworth County, Wisconsin, in 1840 and located on a farm at Sugar Creek, where he engaged in the practice of medicine. He had studied in the office of Dr. Henry C. Mitchell at Norwich, New York, and had obtained a license from the county board of Chenango County of that state.[81]

Even prior to 1850 there were some physicians in the new settlements who were graduates of medical schools and who, through youthful enterprise and a spirit of adventure, sought their fortune in the new communities of the West. George H. Young, a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Castleton, Vermont, came to Elkhorn, Walworth County, Wisconsin, in 1843 and engaged in the practice of medicine.[82] O. C. Otis, who established himself as physician in the Muskego settlement toward the close of 1847 or in the early months of 1848, was a graduate of Rush Medical College. He practiced only for a short time, and was succeeded by Dr. Squire, who died in the cholera epidemic of 1849. John M. Evans of Vermont, graduate of La Porte Medical College, settled as physician in Evansville, Rock County, Wisconsin, in 1846.[83] The same year Philo R. Hoy, a graduate of the Ohio Medical College, Cincinnati, and A. H. Hoy, came to Racine, Wisconsin.[84] George W. Chittenden, a graduate of Albany Medical College, at Albany, New York, settled in Janesville,

[79] *History of Rock County*, 720.

[80] *The History of Waukesha County, Wisconsin*, 894 (Chicago, 1880).

[74] *The History of Racine and Kenosha Counties, Wisconsin*, 653 (Chicago, 1879).

[81] *History of Walworth County*, 946.

[82] *History of Walworth County*, 522.

[83] *History of Rock County*, 863.

[84] *History of Racine and Kenosha Counties*, 591.

Wisconsin, in 1846 and practiced as homeopath.[85] Jehiel Smith of New Hampshire, a graduate of the Eclectic Medical College at Cincinnati, Ohio, came to Waukesha County, Wisconsin, in 1847 as representative of the eclectic school of medicine[86] and John L. Page, graduate of the medical department of the University of St. Louis, located in Racine, Wisconsin, in 1848.[87]

After 1850 the number of physicians in the West who had received their professional training in schools increased rapidly. A medical service in which the public could have full confidence developed gradually after the establishing of state control over medical practice.

[85] *History of Rock County*, 701.
[86] *History of Waukesha County*, 828.
[87] *History of Racine and Kenosha Counties*, 604.

THE NORWEGIAN QUAKERS OF 1825*

By Henry J. Cadbury

The story of Quakerism in Norway and the story of Norwegian immigration to America have been told more than once, each by its separate historians,[1] but they need to be dovetailed together. The following paper is an effort to make some combination between them, appropriate to the centennial year of 1925.

* This study appeared in the *Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1925, and is here reprinted with the kind permission of the editors of that periodical and of the author. A few additions to the notes have been made by the author and are indicated by brackets. *Ed.*

[1] The principal books available to me in English are the following: Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821–1840), Its Causes and Results* (Madison, 1895). The articles in the *American Scandinavian Review* mentioned in notes 5 and 28 are merely repetitions of parts of this book. Neither its later editions nor the author's anniversary articles in *Skandinaven*, collected as a book, *Cleng Peerson og Sluppen Restaurationen* (Chicago, [1925]), represent any substantial fresh research during thirty years. O. N. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States* (second, revised edition, two volumes in one, Minneapolis, 1900); George T. Flom, *A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1909); K. C. Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States* (University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. 3, no. 3—Urbana, 1914); O. M. Norlie, *History of the Norwegian People in America* (Minneapolis, 1925). On the Quaker side, George Richardson, *The Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Norway* (London, 1849); John F. Hanson, *Light and Shade from the Land of the Midnight Sun* (Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1903); Barthinius L. Wick, "Quakerism in Norway," in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 67:258 f., 268 f. (1894); and other literature referred to below. Albert J. Crosfield, "The Rise and Progress of Friends in Norway," in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 110 (Fourth month, 1894), reprinted in 1907 in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 80:234 ff. In Norwegian there are many books and articles not easily accessible to the general reader. Special mention should be made of a series of nineteen articles entitled "Norsk Landnam i U. S.," by Gunnar Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa), beginning November 14, 1924, from which some newly discovered data are quoted.

The odyssey of the sloop "Restaurationen" has been rehearsed for three generations in Norwegian homes of the American Northwest, and several independent but consonant accounts are in print.[2] Probably none is earlier or more authentic than that in the *True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner* by Ole Rynning. This man, himself a Norwegian of the next great tide of immigration, and his book, written in Illinois in 1837–38 and published in Christiania in 1838, are both of the greatest interest, but I proceed at once to quote from a recent English translation[3] his story of the earliest party.

In 1821 a person by the name of Kleng Peerson from the county of Stavanger in Norway emigrated to New York in the United States. He made a short visit back to Norway in 1824 and, through his accounts of America, awakened in many the desire to go there. An emigration party consisting of fifty-two persons bought a little sloop for eighteen hundred speciedaler and loaded it with iron to go to New York. The skipper and mate themselves took part in this little speculation. They passed through the channel and came into a little outport on the coast of England, where they began to sell whiskey, which is a forbidden article of sale at that place. When they found out what danger they had thereby incurred, they had to make to sea again in greatest haste. Either on account of the ignorance of the skipper or because of head winds they sailed as far south as the Madeira Islands. There they found a cask of madeira wine floating on the sea, which they hauled into the boat and from which they began to pump

[2] Anderson's account is based on interviews with at least eight members of the party; Wick's in *The Friend*, 67:269, on the recollections of Ove Rosdal, a Friend. There is also extant the report of the Norwegian consul general, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8:77 ff. (September, 1924). Oral tradition, as collected by Anderson, has required correction with the discovery of written records. Further errors may lurk undetected in the account that is given in the present article, so far as it rests on oral sources. The spelling of Norwegian names and the manner of reference to persons often vary. Here also is a fruitful seed of error. [Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians*, 1:125–134p., treats the whole story of the sloop with the maximum of skepticism and gives the sloopers the worst possible character and motives.]

[3] Translated with introduction and notes by Theodore C. Blegen in the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2:221 ff. (November, 1917). The quotation is from pages 240–242.

and drink. When the whole crew had become tipsy, the ship came drifting into the harbor like a plague-ship, without command, and without raising its flag. A man on a vessel from Bremen, which was lying in port, shouted to them that they must immediately hoist their flag if they did not wish to be fired upon by the cannons of the fortress, which, indeed, were already being aimed at them. Finally one of the passengers found the flag and had it raised. After this and other dangers they at length reached New York in the summer of 1825. In all, the voyage from Stavanger to America had taken fourteen weeks, which is the longest time I know any Norwegian to have been on the way. Nobody, however, had died on the sea, and all were well when they landed. It created universal surprise in New York that the Norwegians had ventured over the wide sea in so small a vessel, a feat hitherto unheard of. Either through ignorance or misunderstanding the ship had carried more passengers than the American laws permitted, and therefore the skipper and the ship with its cargo were seized by the authorities. Now I can not say with certainty whether the government voluntarily dropped the matter in consideration of the ignorance and childlike conduct of our good countrymen, or whether the Quakers had already at this time interposed for them; all I am sure of is that the skipper was released, and the ship and its cargo were returned to their owners. They lost considerably by the sale of the same, however, which did not bring them more than four hundred dollars. The skipper and the mate settled in New York. Through contributions from the Quakers the others were enabled to go farther up into the country. Two Quakers in the company established themselves in Rochester. One of these, Lars Larson by name, lives there still. The others bought land in Murray, five miles northwest of Rochester. They had to give five dollars an acre, but, since they did not have money with which to liquidate the entire amount at once, they made arrangements to pay by installments within ten years. Each one bought forty acres. The land was thickly overgrown with woods and difficult to clear. Consequently, during the first four or five years conditions were very hard for these people. They often suffered great need, and wished themselves back in Norway; but they saw no possibility of getting there without giving up the last mite of their property, and they would not return as beggars. Well-to-do neighbors assisted them, however, and by their own industry they at last got their land in such condition that they could earn a living from it, and live better than in their old native land.

Further information concerning this voyage may be culled from other sources. Lars Larson is the only 'slooper' men-

tioned by name, and by common consent he is regarded as the leader of the party. The names of the other fifty-one have been industriously collected with such information as could be recalled of them and their descendants.[4] According to tradition the date of starting was, very appropriately, July 4, 1825, though contemporary newspaper reference suggests July 5. The landing in New York was on October 9. The clearance papers at the custom-house at Stavanger have been found,[5] and in the American newspapers some extended

[4] Anderson, *Norwegian Immigration*, 45–47, 64–66, 91–131; Norlie, *Norwegian People in America*, 122–135. [The lists of persons thus collected are not quite certain. Norlie, in his *Norwegian People in America*, 123, gives reasons for doubting whether either Johannes Steen's son Svend or Andrew Stangeland came in the sloop. He quotes family traditions to the effect that the latter came to America before the sloop, the former not at all. In the case of Stangeland his doubt is in part confirmed by a "copy of a letter written by K. Pedersen in New York, December 20, 1824" (see *post*, n. 28), in which Cleng Peerson refers to his comrade Andria Stangelan as in America; he had left him at "Faningtaun" (Farmington, New York). Gunnar Malmin, in his article "Paa Jagt i de norske Arkiver," in *Familiens Magasin*, vol. 36, no. 12, p. 14 (September–October, 1925), gives good reasons for a similar doubt about Knud Anderson Slogvig. The letter of Munch, August 27, 1825, quoted by Malmin in *Decorah-Posten*, November 21, 1924, suggests that Simon Lima, wife and three children should be reduced to Simon Lihme (see Malmin, "Rettelse," in *Decorah-Posten*, November 28, 1924), wife and one child, and perhaps that we should add Torwad Holde and wife. Finally we have in Gahn's report (see *post*, n. 7) a contemporary list of the crew which contains in Johannes Jacobsen Sollidal, aged thirty-nine, a member of the sloop's personnel whom tradition seems to have entirely forgotten. Unfortunately there appear to be no lists of the "Restoration" passengers in the records at New York Harbor. In response to inquiries I am informed by the commissioner of immigration that the records of arrival at Ellis Island prior to June 15, 1897, were destroyed by fire, and by the collector of customs that "the passenger list is missing, and there is no record of seizure at this port."]

[5] A facsimile from the customs book is published in the *American Scandinavian Review*, 13:353 (June, 1925). [A transcript of the principal entry (June 27, 1825) was secured in 1896 by Nelson from the records at Christiania and used in his *History of the Scandinavians*, 1:127.] Yet it was argued that the whole story was unhistorical since "the clearance records of Stavanger show no such name as the Restauration."

account of the "Novel Sight" of the arrival, as well as formal notices in the shipping news. The *New York American* for example, on Monday evening, October 10, 1825, contains under "Marine Journal, Port of New York," the following item, "Arr. Danish sloop Restoration, Holland. 78 days from Norway via Long Island Sound, with iron to Boorman & Johnston, forty two passengers." Except that the sloop was neither Danish nor from Holland,[6] and that the days should number ninety-eight and the passengers fifty-two, the item is substantially correct. Strictly speaking the passengers should number fifty-three, for to Lars Larson and his wife was born, on September 2, their first child, Margaret Allen Larson.

The smallness of the vessel, which subjected the captain to some inconvenience in New York harbor, is mentioned by Ole Rynning. It appears that a law of March 2, 1819, allowed only two passengers to each five tons,[7] while "Restauration-

See Babcock, *Scandinavian Element*, 25 n. Another entry includes the information that "Restaurationen," when the cargo was loaded, drew only seven and a half feet of water. For the Norwegian newspaper referred to see *post*, p. 81, and Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, November 21, 1924, and the discussion between Anderson and Malmin in the same paper for November 28 and December 12, 1924. The statement in the American press, namely, arrival on October 9 after ninety-eight days' voyage, if accurate, would fix the sailing on July 4 at the latest. Besides stopping at Madeira, the sloop is said to have sailed to New York by way of the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico (*Vestlandet*, Stavanger, Norway, October 25, 1910, cited by Blegen in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7:313 n.) and via Long Island Sound (*Commercial Advertiser*, New York, October 10, 1825, quoted by Anderson in his *Norwegian Immigration*, 69–70.

[6] Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, November 21, 1924, ingeniously suggests that "Holland" in these notices is due to the fact that the skipper's name was, according to the marine records, L[ars] O[lson] Helland.

[7] Babcock, *Scandinavian Element*, 26 n. The smallness of the vessel chosen is perhaps explained by the advice which Cleng Peerson sent to the immigrants in a letter which they received while planning their voyage (see *post*, n. 28): "I spoke with many persons in New York in regard to selling the vessel. You will certainly be able to dispose of a small ship, but the law forbids the sale of a large one." Norlie, in his *Norwegian People in America*, 121, gives the length as fifty-four feet, tonnage as

en" had more than twice its quota. This we see from the tonnage named in the following description of the ship and party in the *New York Daily Advertiser* of Wednesday, October 12, 1825.

The vessel is very small, measuring as we understand only about 360 Norwegian lasts or forty-five American tons. . . . Most of the passengers belong to families from the vicinity of a little town at the southwestern extremity of Norway, near Cape Stavanger. Those who came from the farms are dressed in coarse cloaths of domestic manufacture, of a fashion different from the American, but those who inhabited the town wear cali-

thirty-eight or forty tons. This tonnage is less than one-quarter of that of the "Santa Maria" or of the "Mayflower." [The tonnage actually entered for the sloop in the records of the collector of customs in New York (October 14, 1825) is sixty tons. This, however, is probably no real contradiction of the smaller figure but is due to the generous attempt of the authorities to scale down the breach of the law. The Swedish-Norwegian consul wrote the following day: "In spite of the most earnest desire to overlook this transgression, it has not been possible to figure the capacity of the vessel to more than 55 tons."] On the size of the sloop see further the information collected and published by the national archivist at Oslo, Fr. Scheel, in his "Kleng Persson [*sic*] og Restauration," in *Nordmandsforbundet*, 16:323–327 (August, 1923).

The fullest account of the difficulty at New York Harbor has just been unearthed from the archives at Oslo by Mrs. Gudrun Natrud and published [in part] in *Familiens Magasin*, vol. 36, no. 12, p. 11 (September-October, 1925). It is a report [in Swedish] of Henry Gahn, Swedish-Norwegian consul at New York, dated October 15, 1825. He mentions explicitly the requirements of the law regarding tonnage per passenger, giving the number of passengers exclusive of crew as forty-five and mentioning the birth of a forty-sixth during the voyage. He further adds as giving the vessel illegal standing the fact that among its papers "a Latin pass and an Algerian pass were lacking." He also mentions the general interest of the public and the desire of the American officials to overlook if it were possible the violation of law. Altogether his report presents a most attractive picture of the welcome extended by American officialdom to immigrants a century ago. In addition to the lack of proper papers mentioned, another new item given is that officially the owner of "Restaurationen" was Johannes Steen. He was otherwise known only as one of the six heads of families on the expedition who were regarded as joint owners of the sloop. Anderson, *Norwegian Immigration*, 92; Norlie, *Norwegian People in America*, 122 f. But the records of clearance at Stavanger (see *ante*, n. 5), as I observe, also name him as owner.

cos, ginghams, and gay shawls, imported, we presume, from England. The vessel is built on the model common to fishing boats on that coast, with a single mast and topsail, sloop-rigged.

For the earlier history of Lars Larson, leader of the "sloopers," as they are called, we must turn elsewhere, and principally to Quaker letters and journals. Lars Larson Jeilane, to give him his full name, was born in Stavanger in Norway, September 24, 1787. He became a ship carpenter and served on board a Norwegian merchant vessel. In 1807, while Denmark and Norway were at war with England, the ship in which he was employed was captured by the English, and he and the rest of the crew remained prisoners of war for seven years until after the treaty of Kiel. It was among these prisoners that he met the Quakers, and from this time their records begin to throw light on his history. A survey of their experiences is given by Stephen Grellet, that prince of Quaker missionaries, in his journal in connection with a visit he paid them in 1814. He writes:[8]

From Rochester I went on board a large prison-ship, below Chatham, to endeavor to have a meeting among the prisoners of war on board. They were generally Danes and Norwegians. Many of them were taken on merchants' vessels; some during their fishing excursions. A very remarkable visitation of the Holy Spirit took place on this prison-ship; three or four of the prisoners felt so powerfully convinced of sin that they sat together in the crowded ship weeping and praying. This drew upon them the sneers of the crew and the abuses of their fellow-prisoners; but they bore all with so much patience and meekness that some of their persecutors felt constrained to join them. Through living faith in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners, some of them now felt their sorrow because of sin to be exchanged for joy and gratitude, a lively hope being begotten in them in His mercy and redeeming love. Their minds were so far illuminated by the Spirit in the deep things of God, that, witnessing a spiritual communion with the Father of Spirits, a right sense was given them of the nature of that worship which is in spirit and in truth; they

[8] *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of Stephen Grellet*, 319 f. (Philadelphia, n. d.).

accordingly sat together in silence, having their spirits gathered before God, undisturbed by the noise about them, or the revilings and reproaches, and even the stripes inflicted upon them. What greatly encouraged them was, that amidst so much suffering their number increased, and several of their most cruel persecutors became one in spirit with them, and in their turn endured with Christian patience the same sufferings that they had before inflicted upon others. During that time some on board, happening to tell to the men in a boat which had brought provision to the ship what a strange people they had among them, one of the boatmen said, "They were like the Quakers." That account came to the knowledge of a Friend, who sent to the ship a copy of "Barclay's Apology," in the Danish language. The little company read it very carefully, and found there several Christian testimonies of which they had been convinced before. They easily apprehended that against war and oaths, and in favour of silent worship, etc. Their number increased to thirty, nineteen of whom are Norwegians. Their good conduct attracted the attention and kindness of the captain of the ship, who generously granted them several privileges. He received me and the friends that accompanied me with great civility; he had the spacious decks covered with awnings, and seats prepared, and we had a meeting with about seven hundred prisoners; many were much affected. After this we had a private opportunity with about forty of the Norwegians and Danes, whom the Lord has so mercifully visited. It was a very tendering time. They appear acquainted with genuine piety. Free communication was allowed us on board this ship, because peace is now made between the European nations. These men are waiting till there is an opportunity to send them back to their respective nations.

There are extant letters also to English Friends from the prisoners themselves. One of the latter was Enoch Jacobsen of Stavanger. He ran away from home in 1808 and, joining a privateer, was captured three days later and imprisoned for three years in Scotland, and later at Chatham with some six hundred other prisoners. He was evidently the first of them to become interested in Quakerism. Another was Elias Tastad, also of Stavanger, and both these continued for many years leaders of Norwegian Quakerism. They tell how a group of them under conviction of sin lived a life of circumspect conduct and piety in spite of the ridicule of their fellow prisoners

Enoch Jacobsen became aware of the existence of Friends through a glimpse he had of a Danish copy of Robert Barclay's *Apology*, the classic statement of Quaker belief, and with the help of a dictionary he wrote to some English Friends in Chatham and London asking them if possible to come to see them. The letter concludes as follows:[9]

I was on board another prison-ship, and there I saw one of Robert Barclay's books, and wished to have had it longer; but it belonged to the ship, and I was moved from that ship to this. I saw that the Spirit of God had led and enlightened you, and that you were counted worthy to suffer reproach for his name's sake; that he had chosen you to be his people, and that you should shine in darkness; that unbelievers should see your good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven.

My desire was so great that I had no rest without using every means to mention all these things to you. How could I dare to write and call you brothers, if I had not been led to it by the Spirit of God? For I do not know you after the flesh, nor you me, but after the Spirit; and I can feel that I have unity with your zeal, and that you are led by the Spirit of truth, and that it is God, of his great grace, who doth these things. May he be praised and honoured now and eternally!

I beg you, my brethren, if you cannot come yourselves on board to speak with me, that you will send me some of your books, and write me a few lines. Now, for the present, I have relieved my mind. The great and almighty God, who has in a

[9] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 5. The presence of Quaker books on the prison ships was no accident. The records of the executive committee of Friends in England show that it planned to reach these prisoners. Anna L. Littleboy, "Quaker Embassies a Century Ago," in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 200, p. 43 (First month, 1919), says: "In 1808 the Meeting for Sufferings was informed that there were about 2,700 Danish prisoners of war in England, and Wilson Birkbeck and William Allen undertook to distribute Friends' books among them. . . . Barclay's *Apology* and *Catechism*, Penn's *Key*, Dell on *Baptism* in Danish . . . were the books granted." Compare the anonymous *Account of a Religious Society in Norway* (see *post*, n. 33) which contains the earliest printed record of the prisoners' conversion to Quakerism. Even before his release Enoch Jacobsen began to disseminate the same Quaker books in Norway, and he made a Danish translation of Penn's *Rise and Progress*.

wonderful manner performed all this, be thanked, praised, honoured, and glorified for ever. Amen.

Grace and peace be with your spirit.

ENOCH JACOBSEN.
Fyen prison-ship, 8 mo. 21, 1812.

The Friends paid the visit, and though "they could not, then, at all converse intelligibly with each other, yet by signs, in love and friendship, they understood a little of each others' feelings." More visits followed; books were given by the visitors, including books on Quakerism and for the study of the English language, and the visitors were finally allowed to hold meetings on board in a manner congenial to both parties, for, as Elias Tastad later recorded, [10]

> We began to hold silent meetings before the Lord, previous to our knowing any thing of the manner in which Friends in England hold their meetings, and were almost strangers to their writings. At first, we got a little room to meet in, where only three persons could sit at once, until we took our little cabin in the ship for our public meeting-place, which was in the view of all the prisoners, who now seemed very kind to us, though previously they appeared to hate us. It then seemed as though the truth had more power over our outward than over our inward enemies.
>
> In the latter part of our captivity, we were about thirty persons, Danes and Norwegians, who professed with Friends. We held our meetings for worship thrice in the week; but there was seldom any instrumental ministry amongst us.

In 1813 efforts were made by English Friends to get permission from the transport board for some of the prisoners to attend Friends' meetings on shore. The group was becoming larger and more definite. Both Jacobson and Tastad offered to supply the Friends "a list of those on board who were inclined to embrace the principles of Friends, most of whom were from Stavanger" (Jacobsen). Tastad's list is preserved.[11] It contains twenty-four names ending with his

[10] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, xi.
[11] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 8.

own. The first is Anders Andersen Regends. The second is Even Samuel Mogleboust. The third is "Lars Larssen Geilene." Here then is a contemporary reference to the future leader of the sloop "Restaurationen," then awaiting release from "Fyen prison-ship near Chatham."

The feelings of the prisoners at their prospective liberation may readily be imagined. They were to say good-by to one another and to the English Friends whom they had learned to love. They were to return to their homes, not knowing what persecutions awaited them nor whether their own loved ones would receive the new religious message that they were yearning to give. Like many others in Christian history they felt that while in prison they had become truly free. To the English Friends one of them writes:[12]

I sincerely wish it was in my power, in this language, to express my feelings of thine and thy fellow brothers' goodness towards me and my companions; for I understand that it is you, next to God, to whom thanks belong, for our knowledge of the blessing of the truth, which I hope we are about to receive. I have been your enemy; and you have treated me as your friend. . . . There will, as thou saidst, come a winter season; but let it come; if it please God, he can carry me over it. I am not sorry to suffer for a good cause.

And again, under date of September 17, 1814:[13]

Dear Friend [*name not given*], — Two Swedish frigates are ready for us, and we wait hourly for orders for our being sent on board. It is my duty, on my own and my companions' behalf, to bid thee dearly farewell. We thank thee for all that care and affection thou still hast shewn towards us; and we desire thou wilt have the goodness to remember our due acknowledgments to all the Friends, who, as well as thyself, have been careful for our true prosperity. The Lord reward you for it!

We are somewhat afflicted because we are now to be separated one from another, and because we may now have to experience severe trials; but we trust in God. When he is with us, we have to fear for nothing. Wheresoever we arrive we shall give you

[12] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 11 f. Ole Edwardsen is the writer.

[13] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 14.

account, if possible. Receive, all of you, our dear love, and fare well for ever.

Thy unworthy friend,

OLE EDWARDSEN LOGE.

Another, a converted ship captain: "I will say, for my part, that it was the best voyage I have done over the sea, that time I came to England; for then I found God my real Father and Preserver." [14] Another writes: "By occasion of the war, I am put in this confinement and restrained of my bodily liberty; but feeling myself to be in a sweet liberty as to my soul, I thank God heartily, who has been so kind to me, and brought me here to receive his divine blessing, and has used you as a means to save me." [15]

The English Friends busied themselves with carrying forward plans for the prisoners' release and supplied them liberally with Quaker books, part of them in Danish.

It is impossible for us to follow them all to their homes. Our interest is in those from Stavanger of whose experiences Elias Tastad gives the following summary: [16]

In the latter part of the year 1814, we were discharged from our imprisonment, and taken, by two Swedish frigates, to Christiania in Norway, and the Danes to their own place. Then this poor and mournful little flock became separated and scattered, each to his own place of abode, far distant one from another, scarcely two or three Friends to any one place. We were, however, four, belonging Stavanger, viz., Lars Larsen, Ole Franck, Even Samuelsen, and Elias Tastad. On our return, we were as poor and strange servants; yet we came to live so near one another that we kept up our meetings for worship, two or three times in the week, constantly; when a few others sometimes came and sat with us, either in a loft or in a chamber. We were then as a strange and despised people to the great professors; but the Lord preserved us in our testimonies, through many and various trials and afflictions, which we then had to endure for the truth's

[14] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 21. From Thornes Johnsen.

[15] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 13. The writer is given as Kaaver O. Dahl.

[16] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 16.

sake. Our sufferings were principally caused by the clergy, who stirred up the magistrates to persecution.

Of Lars Larson it is said that he remained for a time in London at the home, or in the employ, of Margaret Allen. She was an elderly Friend, a widow, and the mother of William Allen, F. R. S., the Quaker financier and philanthropist of whom we shall hear again. An indication of Larson's respect for her appears in the name of the daughter who was born on the sloop, Margaret Allen Larson. When Larson returned to Stavanger is unknown, but the first meeting is said to have been held in his home there in 1816. Until his marriage in 1824 his deaf and dumb sister Sarah Larson kept house for him; she also went with him on "Restaurationen." In 1818 Enoch Jacobsen, who had come to London, writes to a Friend in Rochester conveying an affectionate message to him from Lars Larson, and a few weeks later Jacobsen accompanied the two Quaker missionaries, Stephen Grellet and William Allen, through Norway at the beginning of their remarkable European tour. Grellet does not mention Larson by name, though he writes at length of "the dear people who became convinced of our Christian principles in the prison-ship in England,[17] who reside at Stavanger," and of their dealings with them. William Allen, however, in his account mentions Lars Larson by name:[18]

> We then went to the house of Lars Larsen, a carpenter, who is considered firmly settled in the principles of Friends. A young man, a fisherman, who lives with him, also professes with us, and had been rowing a considerable distance in his boat, till his hands were blistered, to give notice of the meeting to-morrow. We sat down together to wait upon the Lord, and presently two young women, in the station of servants, came in also.

And two days later: "We went a little way out of Stavanger to Lars Larsen's, to attend the usual meeting." Of

[17] Grellet, *Memoirs*, 361 f. [This journal was not available to Richardson when he wrote.]

[18] *Life of William Allen*, 1:272.

the next year English records report: "In this same year, 1819, Lars Larsen came over to London, being desirous of learning the English language. He hoped to have found employment as a cabinet maker, and to have devoted his leisure hours to learning the language; but not finding proper employment readily, he was advised to return home." [19]

Another noted English Quaker, Thomas Shillitoe, came to Norway late in 1821. He spent perhaps a month at Stavanger but is not much given in his Journal to exact dates and names. Rather he records his own sensitive reactions both to outward circumstances and to inward doubts and divine promptings. His sense of guidance he expresses once in this fashion: [20]

> I thought I never more sensibly felt than during my labours this afternoon, the necessity of the instrument becoming like a clean tube, through which liquor passes from one vessel to another, free from the defilements of creaturely wisdom and activity, and from all the obstructions of the creaturely will in doing or not doing.

Shillitoe found the Danish language as unintelligible as the Norwegians found English, and he was as greatly impressed with the wild scenery, and the dangers of sailing and riding through it, as were the Norwegian settlers at the wonders of New York. At Christiania he was attended, and more or less satisfactorily interpreted, by Enoch Jacobsen, who, after staying in England until 1816, had settled there. From Christiania he proceeded by a fishing smack to Stavanger. The voyage was evidently not smooth, and the Tottenham shoemaker found it difficult to maintain quiet trust and confidence in his divine Protector. "The prospect of the foaming waves, with the

[19] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 34.

[20] *Journal of the Life, Labours and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe*, 221. The references are to the edition in the *Friends Library*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1839). The passage quoted is from an entry made at Christiania on December 30, 1821. At Bergen he refers to his hope "to have such beds as we might venture to get into."

almost continual dipping of head or stern and the violent cracking of the vessel as if she was going to pieces, made our situation appear terrific. . . . Setting my feet on shore again was grateful to my mind." [21]

On this journey we meet a familiar name in unfamiliar spelling. "I had very unexpectedly the company of Lance Lasson, a Friend of Stavanger, who spoke English, which added much to my comfort." This is without doubt the slooper of 1825, and it may be well at this point to say a word about his knowledge of English. Like the other Quaker prisoners he found the foreign tongue very difficult to master. Jacobsen had begun to study an English grammar in 1813, but says, "I found it would be too difficult to learn it before I had a perfect knowledge of my own. I have therefore put a stop to the study of the English for some time until I have learned the Danish more perfectly." [22] Evidently he did very well as interpreter for Allen and Grellet, though the latter preferred to use his native tongue in intercourse with persons of rank, who, he says, "spoke French correctly." In the relation of speaker and interpreter Shillitoe and Jacobsen were evidently at times a little impatient with each other. The old-time Quaker extempore sermons would not have been easy to translate, even for the most proficient linguist. Shillitoe writes: "My friend Enoch Jacobsen not being equal to receive and translate long sentences, by care I was enabled to accommodate him, and to order my mode of expression to suit his ability." [23]

Evidently Larson was not so proficient. In 1819, as already noted, he had tried in vain to obtain a position in England in order to learn English, and while he was with Shillitoe we are not surprised that the latter constantly mentions that his interpreter was "deficient in the knowledge of the English

[21] Shillitoe, *Journal*, 236.
[22] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 6.
[23] Shillitoe, *Journal*, 220.

language." [24] He preferred to use any other interpreter that offered himself, but kept Larson "as a watcher, lest, for want of a clear view of my sentiments, any unsound principles should go forth to the people as mine; for which duty I could not doubt his being competent." [25] Throughout his stay at Stavanger Larson was Shillitoe's constant companion.

From Stavanger Shillitoe intended to travel to Bergen, and being unable to endure the roughness of the roads he finally asked his friends to arrange to send him by sea, though, as he says, "I thought I might truly say my faith was tried, as to an hair's breadth, from the dread of encountering a voyage of near a hundred miles to Bergen on such a dangerous, rocky coast, in an open boat." [26] He then proceeds: "After inquiry being made for a boat, and a company of men to take charge of me, and nothing offering that appeared suitable, my kind friend Thomas ———, having a good boat, and he and my interpreter being well acquainted with the coast, they engaged to provide themselves with such help as would be necessary, and to take charge of me to Bergen." [27] Thomas ——— is perhaps Thomas Hille, who together with Metta Hille, and Lars Larson and Elias Tastad are spoken of by R. B. Anderson as founders of the Friends' meeting at Stavanger. The interpreter is undoubtedly Larson himself. Of the voyage along the fjords, Shillitoe gives a graphic account which we must not stop to narrate. Larson was a better seaman than linguist, and Shillitoe had more reason to be concerned for his physical safety than for the purity of the tubes of divine revelation. The Friends who came with him from Bergen remained until he set sail for Altona.

It was now July, 1822, and there is no reason to suppose that Larson had not already considered the possibility of

[24] Shillitoe, *Journal*, 236 and *passim*.
[25] Shillitoe, *Journal*, 237.
[26] Shillitoe, *Journal*, 244.
[27] Shillitoe, *Journal*, 245.

going to America. A certain Cleng Peerson of Stavanger (1782–1865) [28] had gone the previous year to America with one companion and no doubt they were the agents who all the accounts say were sent in advance of the "Restaurationen" party. Peerson himself was probably not a Friend, and he is reported to have had no religious interest but in later years to have become an atheist. Nevertheless, he was to the end an admirer of the Quakers. His sister was the wife of Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, a part owner in the sloop, and one of those who crossed in it with his whole family.

It has been conjectured that the idea of migrating to America was first suggested to the Norwegian Quakers by Stephen Grellet in his visit of 1818.[29] Grellet was a Roman Catholic of a noble French family, but had fled from the terrors of the French Revolution to America in 1795, and later had been converted to Quakerism. He could tell something of America from many years of experience there. But America needed no such special introduction; it would occur to the mind of any restless or persecuted people like the Norway Quakers. An experience that came to the attention of Shillitoe and Larson in their last days at Bergen indicates the universality of the situation which led to Larson's enterprise. Shillitoe was told that there were two Quakers in Bergen, and he came into conference with them. He found them to be not Quakers but members of a group, largely in agreement with Quaker ideals, who had already suffered great persecution "in the late King of Wirtemburg's dominions." When released on condition of leaving the country, seven hundred of them had set sail in a vessel for America and after a gruesome experience of fraud and pestilence these two survivors

[28] See appendix 1, printed at the end of the present article, for a discussion of Cleng Peerson.

[29] Wick, in *The Friend*, 67: 259 [and in *Iowa Historical Record*, 16: 23 (January, 1900)]. According to Shillitoe's *Journal*, 237, Larson met another American Quaker, a young man from New Bedford, while traveling with Shillitoe in 1822.

members of the Society of Friends. At this time the only recognized and lawful religion in Norway was the Lutheran church. The idea of choosing one's own religion, and particularly of organizing another church, could scarcely have occurred to any one. Besides, the Friends have no easy way of extending their membership to isolated individuals, since membership implies participation in a local meeting. The prisoners at London could not have joined the Society of Friends at that time. Some Friends of Rochester gave them a statement "to whom it may concern," explaining their sympathy with Friends and their inability for conscience' sake to engage in war,[31] but this was not a certificate of membership. In 1818, with the help of the English visitors, official "two-months meetings" were established at Christiania and Stavanger. The meeting in the former place came into difficulties among themselves and with outsiders and was soon given up. Though the latter meeting survives, it has always been small. For 1825 the London records give its membership as ten.[32] It is evident that not many of the sloopers were technically Friends, no matter how much Quakers influenced them and furthered their undertaking.

[31] One of these certificates is given by Richardson, in his *Friends in Norway*, 15, as follows:

To all whom these may concern.

Canute Halversen, whilst having been a prisoner of war at this port, has, we believe, been favoured with the tendering influences of the love of God; and becoming a little acquainted with us, members of the Religious Society of Friends (called Quakers), a people, in those parts, who, amongst other noble testimonies (an able Apology for which he has with him, in his own language), hold the inconsistency of war with the Gospel Dispensation, and therefore cannot, for conscience sake, engage therein. And we believe that he, with others of his countrymen, are made partakers, with us, of the same precious peaceable testimony; and we are desirous of recommending him to the kind attention of those with whom his lot may be cast, that he may be permitted to have their support in this religious scruple, and witness preservation.

Chatham, county of Kent, England, 12th of the 2nd month, 1814.

[32] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 822 (New York, 1921). Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 27, says that when the meeting was organized in 1818, "eight individuals were recognized as members

Probably many of the sloopers belonged to a similar native movement, the Haugeans. This sect derives its name from Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824), sometimes called the "Spener of the North." He carried on a campaign for the spiritualization of religion, and protested against the abuses and usurpation of the official Lutheran clergy. His followers never left the church, though their attitude was one of criticism towards it. As Quakerism rose out of the Seekers and Anabaptists in England, so in Norway its soil was the Haugeans or *Læsere* (readers), as they are called in Norwegian, or the "Saints" as the Quakers name them. There was more than a superficial or negative likeness between the two types of religion, though the Quakers were doubtless more extreme; and a considerable interest, if not influence, subsisted between them. Hauge probably knew of Friends only in later life,

of the Society," and adds in a footnote: "Four of this little company afterwards emigrated to America." This and perhaps two like references are the only hint given by the Quaker historian in 1848 of Lars Larson's memorable voyage, which was so significant in the history of both Norway and America. He evidently regarded emigration to America as a cowardly effort "to avoid afflictions in bearing the cross" (p. 52).

This article was already in proof when I at last secured contemporary lists of the members of the Society of Friends at Stavanger. These come not directly from their own records but (through the kindness of Mr. Malmin) from the royal archives at Oslo (Kirkedept. 3die Aflevering 27). They occur as signatories to petitions in the years 1823, 1825, and 1826. None of the sloopers except Lars Larsen appears on the lists. Two of the signers are mentioned in the Quaker minutes of Western New York in 1828 as having their membership transferred from Stavanger. They are Even Samuelsen Mogleboust (see *ante*, p. 70) and Mallena Asbjorns Datter Waaga. The latter had married in 1820 Ole Franck (died 1822), one of the Quaker prisoners of war (see *ante*, p. 71), and in 1828 she married one of the sloopers, Ole Johnson Eie, who had joined the Society of Friends in America. Another signer, Mætha Truls Datter Hille, is mentioned in America in 1837 by the Larsens in their letters. See the end of note 47, *post*, and the articles there cited. [On the basis of this additional information the present writer has prepared a series of articles that aims to collect from all sources available some personalia of the first Quakers of Stavanger. See *Decorah-Posten*, May 21 and 28, and June 4 and 11, 1926.]

when he had read Barclay's *Apology* and received a visit from Thomas Shillitoe described in the latter's journal. He is said to have warned his followers in Christiania against the Friends; but elsewhere his followers and the Quaker adherents became almost indistinguishable. It was as Haugeans that the revival of spiritual life came to the prisoners at London before they made connections with Friends; Anders Andersen of Stavanger, whom we have already mentioned, was one of the Saints. The Quaker visitors developed a great curiosity in this kindred movement, and asked the prisoners to secure information about "the Norway Saints." [33] The Friends complained only that the Haugeans had not gone far enough. Shillitoe charged Hauge with being a backslider, since after "protesting against an hireling ministry," and being imprisoned and fined for so doing, he had "become a priest's assistant and collector of the priest's wages." [34]

There can be no doubt that in Stavanger the two influences largely coalesced and that one or both of them had affected the sloopers. Probably neither name would be entirely accurate to describe the whole party, though we are not surprised that the *Baltimore American*, referring to their arrival, says: "They belong to a religion called the Saints, corresponding

[33] See Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 9–11, 21, and *passim*. The Quaker William Alexander, of York, is said by Richardson, p. 38, to have published a little tract on the Haugeans. Joseph Smith in his Quaker bibliography makes no mention of it, but lists under the name of Frederick Smith an anonymous pamphlet which I suspect is identical with it: *An Account of a Religious Society in Norway Called Saints* (London, 1814). Biographies of Hauge have been written by A. Chr. Bang (third edition, Christiania, 1910) and A. Olaf Röst (Chicago, 1910). For his autobiographical narrative see the notice in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 17: 287 (July, 1924). An independent Lutheran synod formed about the middle of the century in America, and named for Hauge from 1876 to 1917, perpetuated the memory of his influence on the immigrants.

[34] Shillitoe, *Journal*, 225 f. A Norwegian Quaker had interviewed Hauge about 1814. See Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 20 f. [For a collection of Quaker impressions of Hauge see an article by the present writer in *Teologisk Tidsskrift* for April, 1926.]

in many points to the principles of Friends. We understand furthermore that they have sought an asylum in this favored land from religious persecution and that they will shortly be succeeded by a much larger body of emigrants." [35]

While the newspapers in America called the immigrants Saints, the Norwegian newspaper account of their departure was evidently understood to mean that they were Quakers. In *Den Norske Rigstidende,* for July 25, 1825, was published a statement from Stavanger, dated July 7, of the departure two days before (*iforgaars*) for America, where "they expect to find Canaan's land," of "five families of farmers, said to belong to a religious society that has secured several adherents in recent years in the neighborhood." Upon reading the notice the chief officials of the church department wrote promptly to the Bishop in Christiansand, saying they had read in the *Rigstidende* that "several families said to belong to the Quaker sect had migrated to America." They asked how many Quakers had gone and how many were left. To this ominous inquiry Bishop Munch replied, on the authority of Elias Tastad, leader of the Quaker society in and about Stavanger, that fifty-one persons had gone, but only one single one of that sect, namely Lars i Geilene was included in those that went, and that there were in Stavanger city and environs twelve members, namely eight males and four females.[36]

There has been some effort made to show that the sloopers were not mainly influenced by religious motives or the desire to escape repression. American Norwegian historians of Lutheran affiliations find it difficult to glorify the settlers as refugees from persecution without throwing obloquy on the Lutheran church in the homeland. Some, therefore, prefer to assert that there was no substantial persecution and that the emigrants' motives were not idealistic. They point out cer-

[35] Quoted in the *New York American,* October 22, 1825.

[36] See appendix 2, at the end of this article, for a discussion of "The Number of the Quaker Members."

tain incidents in the voyage as discreditable and lay weight on the absence of extreme persecution in Norway. Though their position can be understood, their conclusion is certainly erroneous. The exiles' motives were doubtless mixed, but the desire for religious liberty was one of the most powerful. Their disobedience to local regulations in every foreign harbor they entered, in England, at Madeira, and at New York, is more probably due to the ignorance of men unskilled in official red tape than to any lack of Christian uprightness. The sale and use of intoxicants was not strictly forbidden even by the Quakers one hundred years ago. Besides, the whole history of Norwegian Quakerism from 1818 to 1845 (when religious toleration was established) is full of ominous references.[37] From their prison-ship they went home with grave forebodings. Hauge was a warning to them. He told a Norwegian Quaker that he had been in eleven prisons for his religious convictions. He had just secured his freedom by compromise after ten years of persecution. In 1816 a Quaker marriage had caused considerable comment. In 1818 Jacobsen wrote:

> There are no laws yet made in favour of Friends; so that those who stand firm in their principles act contrary to the laws of the country. Friends must be resigned to take the consequence. . . . All is quiet at present, so that we have not suffered any imprisonment yet; though we may, in some respects, have many difficulties.[38]

In the same year Stephen Grellet interviewed the king of Sweden (Bernadotte), and, to use his own words, "pleaded on behalf of the little flock of his subjects who have embraced principles similar to ours, and who have in some instances

[37] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, *passim*. Among many incidental evidences in the Norwegian records that religious repression was a motive in the early emigration is the fact that originally one chapter of Rynning's *True Account of America* was devoted to a criticism of the official clergy of Norway. Unfortunately for us, one of them, Dean Kragh in Eidsvold, expunged this chapter from the proof. [See Svein Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin*, 1:94, quoting Ansten Nattestad.]

[38] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 23.

been brought into suffering for maintaining their testimony against war, oaths, an hireling ministry, etc." [39] It was in connection with the state church that the greatest difficulty arose. Aside from public disapproval the dissenters had many occasions to feel uncomfortable, and the clergy many opportunities to avail themselves of the law against them. In 1818 at Christiania, William Allen found in the house of correction "about twenty young persons confined because they had neglected to learn their catechism and consequently could not be confirmed by the priest." Every birth, death, and marriage required by law the official action of the church. In 1821 Elias Tastad was fined for not having buried two of his children in ground that was consecrated, the fine to run on at the rate of five dollars a day until he should dig them out again. From this he was released only when an appeal from his sentence was made to the king. A letter of the following year from Bishop Sorensen to the constituted dean of Stavanger is preserved, in which beside requiring that each Friend must produce a certificate of membership if he is to "be allowed to live in this country or kingdom in quality of a Quaker," he adds that it will be expected that "they bind themselves not to make proselytes, and from admitting new members, as also to pay taxes and duties as other subjects or bergers of the state." [40] In the same year Shillitoe refers to the fact that "the laws of Norway are severe on an attempt to proselyte." On October 2, 1823, ten Friends from Stavanger, including Tastad and Larson, petitioned the government for the right to remain in the realm as Quakers. The sheriff, in forwarding the petition, though he acknowledged it would be hurtful in time of war to allow every man whose duty it was to be a soldier to remain in the realm as a Quaker,

[39] Grellet, *Memoirs*, 374. In the same year a written appeal to the king was made by the "Meeting for Sufferings," as the executive body of English Friends is still quaintly designated.

[40] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 37.

acknowledged that the petitioners were diligent and industrious, and recommended that they be permitted to remain as Quakers, since the refusal to allow the practice of their forms of religion would not change their belief but would result ultimately in their leaving the realm. These words of the sheriff were prophetic. On April 22, 1825, the same Friends repeated their request. The petition was not granted until May 11, 1826; by that time one at least of the petitioners was safely in America. Apparently the laws became more severe rather than less so until "in the year 1830 Friends in Norway were forbidden to hold their religious meetings: and those of Stavanger were required, by the local authorities, to keep within three-quarters of a mile around the town." [41]

Evidence of convincing character has recently become known. It consists of a sixty-page report on the emigration from Norway to the United States prepared for the Norwegian government in 1843, based on many authentic sources, preserved in the official publications of the Storthing and in the royal archives at Oslo. It refers explicitly to the Quakers who formed the sloop party of 1825, and admits that "they were discontented, and had good cause to be discontented, with their treatment by officials of state and church under Norwegian laws. Their faith was at least a contributory (*medvirkende*) motive." [42] This report was prepared to meet

[41] Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 53. The belated arrival of certified copies of these petitions (see *ante*, n. 32) enables me to avoid some errors, but they raise some interesting questions. The petition of April 22, 1825, adds three new names among the petitioners, but omits Lars Larsen. It is natural to suppose that he had already decided to emigrate and did not care to ask again for permission to remain in the realm.

[42] Blegen, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7:317, 318 n. "In general the migration of the Quakers and their associates in 1825 acquires added importance as the background, motives and influence of that movement become clearer." The same author gives a fuller account of the material in an article on "The Norwegian Government and the Early Norwegian Emigration," in *Minnesota History*, 6:115–140

the desire of the government to devise some way to reduce the rate of Norwegian emigration, which had reached alarming proportions. No restrictive measures, however, were adopted, but the investigation contributed to the passage in 1845 of a law granting full religious toleration. In this indirect way "Restaurationen" was of enduring importance not only for America but also for Norway. And in that country, just as in other countries in other centuries, the conspicuous, persistent, and innocent nonconformity of the Quakers was largely responsible for securing religious freedom for all.

We may not follow further the fate of the Friends whom Larson and his companions left behind in 1825. But it is clear that even without any instances of actual martyrdom the emigrants of this period had ample reason to seek escape from the intolerant clergy and sheriffs. A few may have been indifferent to matters of religion, but most of them were doubtless in sympathy with Quakers or Saints and were subject to the annoyance of finding themselves in constant conflict with the laws. Hardly one of them is likely to have been in full sympathy with the state church.[43] Indeed it was nearly twenty years before there was any ordained priest of that church among the American immigrants. Today in this country millions of Lutheran Norwegians are celebrating the

(June, 1925), and Gunnar Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten* for January 9, 1925, gives some selections from the letters and journals of immigrants which originally formed an appendix to the report, though not printed with it. None of this material is available in English.

[43] "Ole Olson Hetletveit, who came on the sloop in 1825, is said to have been the only one of that company who remained true to the Lutheran faith." Strand, *Norwegians in Illinois,* 140. [He is said to have preached in the Kendall colony and even on the sloop. Anderson, *Norwegian Immigration,* 398; Norlie, *Norwegian People in America,* 132 f.] On the beginnings of Norwegian Lutheranism in the United States see E. O. Mörstad, *Elling Eielsen og den "Evangelisk-lutherske Kirke" i Amerika* (Minneapolis, 1917), and J. Magnus Rohne, "Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872," a thesis for the degree of doctor of theology at Harvard University [to be published by the Macmillan Company, New York.]

arrival of the "Restaurationen." So do the prophets continue to be honored by the children of those that persecuted them.

The later history of Larson, so far as it is known, is fully told by the Norwegian historians. In New York the party was welcomed by Quakers, who helped them with food and clothing and also provided them funds to reach their farms. These were in the township of Kendall, county of Orleans, New York. Joseph Fellows, a Friend, is said to have secured their title for them.[44] Larson sent his wife and baby on with the party, while he remained behind to sell the ship and its cargo. When he was able to follow them, the newly opened Erie Canal was frozen, and he skated from Albany to Holley near Kendall. He finally settled in Rochester, and made canal boats until his sudden death in the canal in 1845. It is easy to understand the choice of place and occupation on the part of the ship carpenter of Stavanger. Two American Quakers had largely been responsible for putting through the great canal in the governorship of DeWitt Clinton. The Quaker agents of the emigrants knew well the great prosperity which lay before the territory near it. The circumstances are

[44] Kendall Township on Lake Ontario was part of Murray Township until it was set off from the latter in 1837. Hence Ole Rynning in the quotation printed *ante*, p. 61 still called it "Murray." In his letter written in 1824 (see appendix 1), Cleng Peerson said he had arranged with the land agent at Geneva for the purchase of land. Now Geneva is in Ontario, not Orleans, county, but this difficulty is removed (see Blegen, in *Skandinaven*, July 12, 1924) by the fact that Joseph Fellows, though he had his office at Geneva, was subagent (later agent) for the Pultney Land Office, which controlled lands in Orleans County, including Kendall Township. The newspaper notices in *Niles's Weekly Register*, 29:115, and elsewhere, speak in a similarly misleading way of the emigrants as "destined for Ontario County, where an agent has purchased a tract of land for them."

On Fellows and Kendall see O. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, 281 (Rochester, 1851); Arad Thomas, *Pioneer History of Orleans County, New York*, 269, 273, 284 (Albion, 1871). The Kendall settlement passed through difficulties, including "the sickly season" of 1828. Many of its members removed to La Salle County, Illinois, about 1834 or 1835.

curiously assembled in three references in a single issue of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. One is notice of an honorary degree conferred on the Honorable DeWitt Clinton by the young Ohio University. One is a shipping note; "Danish sloop Restoration, Holland. 78 days from Norway." The third is as follows:

ROCHESTER, N. Y. Oct. 5. The census of our village, as taken by Messrs. Burr and Stilson, under the act of legislature produces the following result:

On the east side of the river.....	1905
On the west side of the river.....	3366
	5271

Making an increase of more than 1000 since February last!

Most of the sloopers and those who followed them moved out of such crowded areas to the freer West, but Larson's home was a regular station on their route and there they enjoyed great hospitality. In Norway Elias Tastad seems to have remained as a kind of shipping station for this forwarding agency. In the "Description of a Journey to America" written in 1837 by one Ole Knudson Nattestad, a kind of predecessor to Ole Rynning, we read, "At Stavanger we got trace of a man by name Elias Tastad with whom all who wanted to go to America inscribed their names."[45] The Larsons kept in touch with their old associate and named for him one of their eight children. The messengers coming westward were more numerous than those going eastward. Four letters to Norway from the Larson family in 1837 and later, have been recently unearthed from the Quaker archives at Stavanger and published [in part] in English.[46] They are addressed to Elias Tastad, except one from Margaret, the baby born in

[45] Translation in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 1:168 (December, 1917).

[46] *American Scandinavian Review*, 13:361–364. [These letters were also published, but not in full, in *Decorah-Posten* for December 5 and 12, 1924. The text given above has been corrected to agree with the transcripts made by Gunnar Malmin.]

the sloop, which is addressed to "My dear Grandmother if living and uncle John." This and one of the letters from her mother are in English. These all throw much light both on Norwegian emigration and on the feeling of the Norwegian Quakers in the presence of the unfortunate situation following the separation of 1827–28 in America. A few quotations from Martha Larson will suffice.

ROCHESTER, 11th of 10th mo., 1837.

Twelve Norwegians came here today, and are now sitting at the table eating their supper. About two weeks ago there arrived from ninety to a hundred people. They stayed at our house and my brother's house about a week, and we furnished meals for nearly all of them. . . .

The dissension among the Friends is the same now as before. Those who have left have shown the world a very poor example. But I shall not say much about them, for I wish them well, and have often prayed that God might grant them time for repentance.

I am glad to say that, as far as I know, my dear Lars no longer associates with them, which is the greatest joy I could desire here on earth. He is greatly interested in church work, is diligent in his work, and we live together with great happiness, for God has blessed us with both temporal and spiritual gifts. We are blessed with six children, five girls and one boy. They are good, healthy, well-behaved children, who give us great joy. . . .

Elias, I want to ask you as a friend that you advise no one to come here who cannot help himself, because practically all of them come to us and we cannot help so many. We, of course, do what we can for them all. I have gone around town looking for work for them, and Lars has taken many of them out into the country. We spare no pains to make them satisfied.

[no date]

MY DEAR FRIEND ELIAS TASTA:

I can't let this good opportunity go by accept writing these few lines to you for to express little of my feeling and situation. I have not for sometime past been very well but at present I am better. I and my husband went away last 5th month on acont of my health. We went from home the 16th of the same month and got to New York the 20th about 5 o'clock in the morning and 6 o'clock we took the steamboat for Philadelphia. Then we went about thirty miles by water, then we took the rail road car for about 30 miles cross the New Jersey and through Berlington

where Steven Grellet live, and from there we took the steamboat again across Delawere River into Philadelphia, and there we staid for four days. We meet there excedingly kind friends and we tended meting twice and there we found Tormon Bournson, and from there we went again to N. Y. to tend the yearly meeting, witch was very interesting to me. I had the comfort to be in company with our dear friend Steven Grellet, also, with a great minister from England of the name Joseph John Gerny. We all put up together to a friend of the name Collins. The meting lasted about 5 days. O my dear Friend Elias, thou cannot have any idea what a good meting the yearly metings are. It has felt to me as a kingdom on the earth, and, if I may express myself, the friends has piered to me like angels for their love and chareity are very great towards each others. I have often thought of thee as well as the rest of the friends there and I feel a great love towards you all, more than I can with pen express. O that we may remember the Savour's word when he says love one a nother. I concider that for the greatest part in the society, for where there are love there are forbearance and where there is no love there is no forbearance for Paul says if he has evry thing els that belong to a Christean but has no love, it is all in vain. Therfore first and last let us love one a nother.

I must tell thee a little about Metha. I have not seen her for about nine months but I have heard that she is well, but I calculate to go and see her as soon as possible. She lives about 20 miles from Rochester in a place that is called Farmington, with respectfully friends, witch is called the Authordox friends, for she said she could not for consiecienes sake unite with those there is called Hicksides, but I for my part feel a great love for that side as well as towards my own friends.[47]

"Restaurationen" has been called the Norse "Mayflower." It belongs also among the famous ships of Quaker history — with the "Woodhouse," the "Industry," the "Welcome," and many others unknown to fame. Even the "Mayflower,"

[47] The date of this letter is not given, but it is limited to the three years 1838, 1839, and 1840, which are the ones when, according to his Journal, Joseph John Gurney attended the New York Yearly Meeting. Probably it was written before the eighth month of 1839, when he spent two days in Rochester, the population of which then was, he says, about 20,000. *Memoirs of J. J. Gurney*, 2:184 (Philadelphia, 1854). [The visit of the Larsons to New York and Philadelphia and this letter about it can now be definitely dated in the year 1838. The minutes of the

if we can trust Rendel Harris's ingenuity, is a kind of member of the Quaker fleet. The Society of Friends has just been celebrating (in the Quaker way) the tercentenary of George Fox's birth in 1624. Probably few of them have claimed much share in the public centennial of 1825.

Recalling, however, many stages of Quaker story, both the earliest and the most recent, this unfamiliar episode from a middle period shows how consistent and repetitious is the habit of history. Whenever in any land men seek release from priestcraft or conscription they are dubbed Quakers, and they find in the Quakers friends in need. From the

Yearly Meeting for Minister and Elders regularly list the visiting ministers present at the annual gathering and only in 1838 do those records of the New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) name both Gurney and Grellet. In spite of Malmin's conjecture that Martha Larson's letter was written a few years later, it probably was sent back by the same messenger (Lars Boe?) as the letters of Lars Larson, dated the ninth of the seventh month, 1838, and of Margaret, dated the eleventh of the seventh month, 1838.]

Farmington was a Quaker community, having been bought by some Quaker settlers from Massachusetts in 1789. See [W. H. McIntosh], *History of Ontario County, New York*, 103 f. (Philadelphia, 1876), and the county histories of G. S. Conover and C. F. Milliken as cited by Blegen in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 311 n. Cleng Peerson had been in touch with "friends [*Friends?*] in Masedon" and "Faningtaun" when he returned to America in 1824. Macedon and Farmington lie near each other, east of Rochester. Metha is called in another letter Metta Hille (see *ante*, p. 75), while her brother Thomas Hill is greeted as still in Norway. Thomas Shillitoe visited Rochester and the neighboring Quaker communities in 1827, [according to his *Journal*, 383]. Did he and Larson meet each other again at that time? Elias Hicks traveled to this part of New York several times, for example in 1820, in 1825 (opening of Scipio Quarterly Meeting), and in 1828 (holding meetings at Farmington, Macedon, Rochester, and a dozen other places). See the *Journal of Elias Hicks*, 300, 307, 432 f. (Fifth edition, New York, 1832). Ole Johnson and several other Norwegians joined his party, but not the Larsons. See *post*, p. 93, and Norlie, *Norwegian People in America*, 152. On evidence from Quaker records about Norwegian Friends in western New York, see the article on "Norwegian Quakers in Western New York," by John Cox, Jr., in the *Friends' Intelligencer*, 82: 829–830, 848–850 (1925), and by the present writer in *Decorah-Posten*, November 20, 1925.

Mennonites of 1683 to the Dukhobors of 1899, exiles for conscience' sake have been assisted by the Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic with generosity and sympathy. As from the prison ships at Chatham a little band of friends of the Friends returned in 1814 to spread their influence in Norway, so a century later the German and Austrian "alien enemies" whom the Friends had befriended in the prison camps in England, returned with deep gratitude to their homes, and still count themselves, if not Friends, at least "friends of the Friends." In this way the chance of circumstance and the persistent habits of a tiny sect have given it an opportunity for influence out of proportion to its numbers, and the strangers' children's children rise up to call them blessed.

APPENDIX

1. Cleng Peerson

[Strictly speaking Peerson came from Tysvaer in Stavanger *Amt.* The month of his arrival in America was August, 1821, according to a signed statement he made later (1849), quoted by Malmin in *Decorah-Posten* for February 6, 1925.] For information concerning him see the article by R. B. Anderson, "Kleng Peerson, the Father of Norwegian Immigration to America," in the *American Scandinavian Review,* 8: 502–509 (July, 1920). Much new information was published by T. C. Blegen in an article on "Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 7: 304–331 (March, 1921). He had access to a copy of a letter written by Peerson from New York, December 20, 1824, to his "father, brother, sister, brother-in-law, and friends." "This letter proves clearly that Cleng Peerson was the advance agent of the immigrants of 1825, that he was directly urging the enterprise and encouraging its backers, that he arranged in 1824 for the purchase of land for his friends, that he was attempting to arrange for the sale of their ship should they purchase one for the journey, that he received coöperation and aid from a group of friends in New York City who are known to have been Quakers, and from acquaintances in western New York, that he made active preparations for housing the immigrants when they came . . . and that, far from being a scoffer and an atheist, he evinced at this time a pious religious attitude" (p. 312). Mr. Blegen has kindly lent me a copy and a translation of the 1824 letter. [The original is printed in *Skandinaven* for July 11, 1924.] It has a religious tone, but nothing recognizable as distinctly "Quaker idiom."

[The genuineness of this letter is attacked by Anderson, in *Skandinaven* for March 21, 1924, and in his book *Cleng Peerson og Sluppen Restaurationen*, 57–60, and is defended by Blegen in an article, "Cleng Peerson in 1824," in *Skandinaven* for July 11 and 12, 1924. Without attempting to decide between these writers I may call attention to a single point. Anderson gives among other reasons against the letter the argument that Peerson could not write while Blegen refers to other letters which purport to come from Peerson's hand. But in one of these Peerson's signature, as the original publication in *Hamars Budstikke*, 1850 (see *Decorah-Posten* for February 6, 1925), shows, was written "med paaholden Pen." I think that in like manner the letter from New York of December 20, 1824, is genuine but that it was not written by Peerson with his own hand but with the help of some more literate Scandinavian. A phrase qualifying the signature may have occurred in the original and have been omitted when the letter was copied, for it is not the original missive that is preserved but a copy made in Norway by Thormod Madland on June 28, 1825. Even in the original the signature may have been written without qualifying words. The petitions referred to *post*, n. 32, show that in such cases of illiterate persons the same signatures are sometimes qualified by such phrases and sometimes not. The same explanation is applicable to two other letters of Peerson printed respectively in *Democraten* for September 7, 1850, and in *Bergens Stiftstidende* for April 20 [?], 1843. The latter is quoted in full in A. Ragnv. Brækhus, "Cleng Peersons Norgesbesök i 1843," in *Nordmandsforbundet*, 18: 227–231 (April, 1925).]

Blegen reports: "Elling Eielsen . . . told Svein Nilssen in 1869 that Peerson and Eide were Quakers sent by the Friends of Stavanger in 1821 to investigate conditions in America. Their expenses, he declared, were paid by the Quakers of Stavanger and possibly in part by English Quakers" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 309, n.). As early as 1818 Dean Sören reported that Kleng Pedersen Hesthammer, then abroad [in exile?] in Denmark had "given offense, even misleading others to absent themselves from attendance of public worship and the use of the communion." Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, November 21, 1924. On Peerson's antecedents see Scheel in *Nordmandsforbundet*, 16: 323–327. Blegen, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 310, n., understood Peerson's brother-in-law mentioned in the letter to be Lars Larson, but writes me that he is "practically certain now that there is no foundation for the statement." Perhaps he was led astray by Anderson, *Norwegian Immigration*, 47, but Anderson recently writes explicitly that Martha Peerson who married Lars Larson was not related to Cleng Peerson. On the other hand, another member of the party of 1825, Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, was married to a sister of Cleng Peerson (Kari Peerson Hesthammer). Anderson, *Cleng Peerson og Sluppen Restaurationen*, 8, 38. Whether Hersdal is the brother-in-law included in the address I do not know.

2. The Number of the Quaker Members

The documents are given in full by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, November 21, 1924. I see no way to escape the statement of Tastad that only Lars Larson was officially a Quaker, no matter how much one supposes his associates on the sloop to have been influenced by Quakerism without being actual members of the Society. It may be argued that Tastad, having in 1823 sent in the names of certain members (see *ante*, n. 32) petitioning for permission to reside in the country in accordance with the requirements of the government, could not now, without getting himself into difficulties, acknowledge that others of the *émigrés* were also Friends, since they must have joined secretly and against the law. But their petition was not granted until 1826. Besides, the English Friends themselves were conservative about admitting to full membership persons whom they did not know, and the difficulties were sufficient to dissuade many sympathizers from conforming to the requirements of the government. In 1823, according to a statement of the Stavanger *Amtscontor*, the applicants for permission to be Quakers included only men above military age and their wives--the former "having left the realm as Lutherans and after several years of English internment having returned as Quakers." Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, November 21, 1924. Now of the names of twenty-four sympathizers given to English Friends (Richardson, *Friends in Norway*, 8) "Lars Larssen Geilene" alone reappears in the list of sloop passengers. The records of Friends' meetings in New York state seem to confirm this also. Only one minute of membership dated 1825 is apparently extant, and that is for "Lars Larssen": "As this our friend and member Lars Larssen Geilen with his family (viz. his wife Martha and child named Margaret) think proper to leave us, to spend the rest of his days in the United States of America we can give him no farther help than to recommend them to their friends in that country, who no doubt will give him the best advice; in other respects we must recommend him to the help of his Maker. Stavanger the 30th day of the 6th mo. 1825. Elias Eliasen Tastad." Rochester Monthly Meeting Records (Hicksite). That other passengers on the sloop subsequently became full members of the Society of Friends and that other members of the Quaker meeting in Stavanger came to America subsequently is evidenced by minutes of the Friends in New York state. See *ante*, n. 32, and the articles by Cox and the present writer mentioned *post*, n. 47. Anderson regarded most of the sloopers as Quakers, and names several explicitly as such. Dr. Andreas Seierstad, the church historian at Oslo, who has made a careful study of Quakerism in Norway in his *Kyrkjelegt Reformarbeid i Norig i Nittande Hundreaaret*, 219–254 (Bergen, 1923), thinks that besides Larson three other sloopers were Quakers, though not formally, namely Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, Ole Johnson and Daniel Stenson Rossadal. [Even Norlie, in his *Norwegian People in America*, 190, overestimated the official Quaker membership

among the sloopers when he wrote: "While possibly not more than five of the Sloopers were Quakers, the members on the boat [*sic*] were to a large extent affected by the Quaker spirit of dissent." Rynning (see *ante*, p. 62) wrote in the winter of 1837–38 that "Two Quakers in the company established themselves in Rochester. One of these, Lars Larson by name, lives there still." I suppose the other Quaker is Ole Johnson, but he first joined the Friends after coming to America, at Farmington, New York, in September, 1820. I have tried elsewhere to collect evidence about him, — in *Decorah-Posten* for November 20, 1925, — but I cannot determine the dates and places of his residence, in spite of Anderson, *Norwegian Immigration*, 104, and Norlie, *Norwegian People in America*, 129. He does not appear in the Rochester Directory for January 1, 1827, but his name appears in the Rochester Quaker minutes for 1828, 1833, 1834, 1837, and 1839. Perhaps he was really living at Kendall. But there is more than one piece of evidence showing that at least later he lived in Rochester. He was living there certainly in his own home in October, 1837. I cannot, therefore, explain why Ole Rynning in the winter of 1837–38 implied that he was not still settled in Rochester. In the summer of 1838 he went to see the land he had bought in Illinois intending the next summer to migrate thither.] Meanwhile we await further evidence perhaps to be found in the Quaker records of Stavanger, London, New York, and possibly Illinois. Though there have been many Norwegian Quakers in Iowa, I am not sure of Illinois. About 1835 the majority of the surviving sloopers and their children moved from Kendall, New York, to the Fox River settlement in Miller and Mission townships, La Salle County, Illinois. Yet neither the two histories of La Salle County — that by Elmer Baldwin (Chicago, 1877), and an anonymous volume (Chicago, 1886) — nor the *History of the Norwegians in Illinois*, compiled and edited by Algot E. Strand (Chicago, [1905]), suggest in any way that these first Norwegian settlers in Illinois had any Quaker organization or connections. In 1847 the consul general reported to the Norwegian government that "a few of those who came with the sloop" were still living at Fox River. *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8:77.

BISHOP JACOB NEUMANN'S WORD OF ADMONITION TO THE PEASANTS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY GUNNAR J. MALMIN

INTRODUCTION

Bishop Jacob Neumann's pastoral letter to prospective Norwegian emigrants, a pamphlet which was published at Bergen in 1837, is of interest not only as a clever piece of argumentation but also as a fair sample of an attitude of mind very common among the clergymen in Norway, and, no doubt, in other European countries, on the subject of emigration in the first half of the nineteenth century. The prevailing opinion seems to have been that the whole movement of emigration was equally harmful to the individual emigrant and to the home country. A determined effort was, therefore, made to stem the current, from the pulpit and through newspapers and pamphlets, by picturing the hardships of the voyage and the vicissitudes of life on the American frontier in as dark colors as possible.

An interesting thing about the pamphlet here under consideration is the fact that it was written by one of the outstanding figures in Norwegian religious and cultural life at the time. Jacob Neumann was born at Drammen in 1772. He completed his theological course in 1796, and took the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1799. His promotion was rapid, and in 1822 he was appointed to the important position of bishop of the Diocese of Bergen. As a bishop he was particularly interested in the work of education throughout the diocese. He was himself a decided rationalist. He made frequent contributions to newspapers and magazines, writing on such subjects as education, economics, and historical antiquities. As further evidence of his general cultural interests may be mentioned the facts that he was among the first to

support the great Norwegian poet and language-reformer, Ivar Aasen, and that he was one of the founders of the splendid museum at Bergen. He died in 1848.

Of great interest and significance also is the fact that the Neumann pamphlet appeared as early as 1837, only a year after Norwegian emigration had begun to assume dimensions of any consequence. It will be remembered that a party of fifty-two emigrated from Stavanger in 1825, but it was not until 1836 that the next group emigration took place, when about a hundred and sixty emigrants departed from Stavanger on "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe." The Neumann pamphlet was published a year before Ole Rynning's famous *True Account of America.*

In Drammen's *Tiden* for June 15, 1837, is a brief mention of the Neumann pamphlet giving the significant information that Bishop Neumann had distributed five hundred and fifty free copies of the pamphlet among the congregations in the diocese, and had sent fifty copies to Stavanger County for free distribution there. In addition, the pamphlet was for sale at four skillings a copy. It is therefore evident that it was quite well distributed among the people, especially in those districts where the so-called "America fever" was the strongest. The Neumann pamphlet undoubtedly served a very useful and, historically speaking, significant part, in counteracting the altogether too optimistic accounts found in the "America letters." The very fact that it was probably the first book published in a Scandinavian language on the subject of emigration to America should recommend it to our attention as an historical document of primary importance.

[TITLE PAGE]

A Word of Admonition to the Peasants in the Diocese of Bergen Who Desire to Emigrate. A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of the Diocese. Sells at 4 skillings a copy. Bergen, 1837. Published by Chr. Dahl, R. S.

[TEXT]

"So shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." (Psalms, 37, 3.)[1]

DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS:

I have now sojourned among you for about fifteen years, and I have learned to love you dearly. In you I have found not only the true Norwegian spirit,— devotion to king and country,— but also the true peasant spirit — frugality, simplicity, and industry. But that which crowns all is that I have also found among you a Godly spirit and a desire to serve God in Christian simplicity, to praise Him, and to do His will. Of course, not all of you are alike, for

> Broken vessels in every land;
> Among the roses are mingled thorns,
> Here as well as elsewhere.[2]

Of all these thorns surely the sharpest and foulest are those which have grown up around the liquor stills, where I have often seen the people dance — just as the people of Israel danced around the golden calf in the wilderness — and offer sacrifice to the most hideous of all idols, drunk with the hellish fume of the sacrifice, and spurred on by the selfish high priests of the saloons. I shall not speak of these idolaters, "whose god is the belly, and whose glory is in their shame,"[3] but I shall rather pray that the mercy of Heaven may bestow His grace upon them, that the corrupter may depart from their souls, lest they perish in their impenitence.

When, on the other hand, I have found the peasants throughout the whole diocese, from Söndmör to Bömmeln and from the Jotun Mountains to Sulen, to be honest and god-fearing, going about their work with calm and sober minds, then I have esteemed them highly. Then I have prayed that God might bless their dili-

[1] It is interesting to observe that the English translation incorrectly interprets this passage as a promise, whereas the Norwegian Bible adheres to the imperative of the original Hebrew — "Stay in the land and support yourself honestly."

[2] From a poem by Johan Herman Wessel, "Brudne Kar i alle Lande."

[3] Philippians 3, 19.

gence and their pious conduct, and protect them and their race from delusions which might disturb their peace of mind, and drive the Angel of Peace from their dwellings.

With these fatherly interests in your welfare, dear Christian friends, it has not been without concern that during the last two years I have noticed a strange desire that has appeared among you and has disturbed the minds of many, namely, the desire to migrate from the country in order to — ah, what am I to suppose is the real motive? He who has chosen education and the sciences as his occupation in life, either in order merely to broaden his own field of knowledge or to equip himself better for the service of his fatherland, generally desires an opportunity to go abroad to seek nourishment for his mind through intercourse with other scholars and scientists. The merchant travels abroad in order to become familiar with the places where he can sell his goods at the greatest profit or purchase merchandise — where, in general, he can make advantageous business connections. The mechanic travels in foreign lands partly because of convention, partly in order to become more skilled in his profession. The rich travel about the world just to amuse themselves. With none of these motives can we suppose that a farmer leaves his native land; surely he can learn everything of importance to the pursuit of agriculture, if not always in his home community, at least in his fatherland. And the classes of travelers we have mentioned, even though they leave home, as a rule return, longing to get back to

> That spot on earth where the voice of life
> First rose from infant breast.

In the bosom of the home environment, embraced by pleasant memories of the past, surrounded by family and friends, the departed but now returned son of the fatherland feels himself happier than at any other place on earth.

> Every hill, every vale, which gave him joy,
> Becomes dear to his memory;
> Enraptured the man beholds the scenes
> Where he was happy as a child.[4]

[4] The above quotations are from a poem entitled "Fædrelandskjærlighed" (Patriotism) by the Danish poet, Thaarup.

But is this the case with one who bids his fatherland farewell forever? Or is it poverty and need which compel the emigrating Norwegian peasant — for it is of him I speak — to take such a desperate step? Is he poor and deserted, and cannot a single spot be found for him in his native land where he can support life by tilling the soil with his spade, or a strand where in his light, little boat, he can find nourishment from the sea with his hook or his net? Is there no means by which he can make a living in his native land — and has he a well-founded hope of making a living outside the boundaries of his own country? If that be the case, then may God strengthen his hope and his courage and lead him safely to the land where he expects to find greater happiness in life! Perhaps he will find it, perhaps not. A grave he will find wherever he may go.

But is it only the poor who have been seized with the desire to emigrate? No, it is also the man with farm and property, Norway's free, happy, independent *udalman*.[5] He sells farm and goods, he tears himself away from every bond which holds him to his native land, he bids his family and friends farewell forever, he turns his back on the fruitful mountain pasture whence his cows fetched an abundance of milk in the udder, he turns his back on the valley where his forefathers with a strong arm turned his furrows for the seed to which the Lord gave growth, he turns his back on the house where his mother suckled him and where his father took him on his knee with prayer to God, he turns his back on the tent of his liberty, on the mighty fortress of his independence, on the never-failing source of his happiness. And why? In order to become even more free, more independent, more happy. And where? In a distant land in the western hemisphere, at about the same distance from the North Pole as the land which he is leaving — in North America! Thither has chance led some of his countrymen. They settled in the country; they bought a piece of land, which is available at a very low price; through great self-denial and great exertions they tilled the soil; it rewarded their diligence with its fruitfulness; their courage increased; they bought even more land; their diligence enabled them to cultivate this with the

[5] The Norwegian *odelsbonde*, holder of a fee simple, a farm inherited with full rights by the oldest son.

same success as before; they became thrifty and happy; they reported this to their home community in Norway — and behold! A spirit of restlessness took possession of all. All wanted to enjoy a similar fortune. All wanted to go to America. And so great numbers left the coast of Norway — just as they left Germany, Prussia, and Ireland — and steered over the ocean to the distant Land of Happiness, where they hoped to harvest almost without sowing, or, in other words, where they hoped that a luckier star would arise over their families and over their futures. They left without stopping to consider how many fogs would have to be penetrated before that star could arise, how many privations would have to be endured, how great the exertions that would have to be expended before they could begin little by little to acquire the good things they desired, and without carefully pondering whether their enterprises could and would succeed, and what a sad misfortune would befall them if they failed.

I should like to mention, my dear Bergen peasant, a few things that, to the best of my knowledge, one must carefully consider if one wishes to take the doubtful step of settling as a pioneer in America. The emigrant must be strong and healthy, for the interior of America, where with his money he can expect to purchase land for cultivation, is a land of hard work and strenuous effort, consisting of enormous forests which must be cleared with the axe in order to bring the land under the plow, and of huge marshes, which must be drained with ditches. He must be in his prime — between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, or, at most, forty — in order at once to make use of his strength in such a way that he can expect to see the first difficulties and troubles overcome and the property brought into such a condition that it can assure him, as an old man, and his children after him, the happy existence which he longs to obtain. Not only must he have enough money to pay for the often prolonged voyage of many hundred miles to a place where financial conditions are so different from those here at home that he will soon find to his great surprise how expensive even the barest necessities of life will be during his stay there and during his further journey inland to the districts where he intends to settle. He must also — and here comes a hard knot to undo — he must have enough money to buy land; to build

a hut; to provide himself with implements needed for clearing and cultivating the ground; to acquire domestic animals which he will need for his housekeeping, for his farm work, and for breaking new land in the wilderness; and, finally, to support himself and his dependents until a cultivated strip of his land can yield its first fruits. How much time and money, how much strenuous labor, how great a self-denial, yes, how many tears, how many sighs of regret and longing, do you not suppose, my honest Norwegian peasant, all this will cost you!

And, if you cannot make a success of your enterprise, if your strength or your means fail, you must abandon the settlement which you have started and return to Norway, having used up the money you obtained through the sale of your inherited property and farm in Norway; or, if you have risked going to the foreign country empty-handed, you are lost. Do not imagine that bread falls in showers from heaven or that quails fly forth to meet you, as was the case with the Israelites in the desert of Sinai; or, still less, that the flesh-pots of Egypt welcome you with their pleasing odor? No, the old law "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread" will, in the first few years of your exile at least, loom up ominously before you each day. And if your courage sinks, if your strength fails, if sickness and trouble overtake you, then woe unto you! Perhaps you have no wife to nurse you, no loving son or daughter to assist you, no friend in whom you can confide your troubles and who can comfort you and renew your courage. It may be that you will have your share of such good things if only you secure some of your countrymen as neighbors where you buy your land; then you will, I hope, have friends and helpers in your trouble. But, if you come among absolute strangers, among Europeans of every race and language, whose hearts are not opened to you, whose arm will not support you, and whose language you do not understand, are you then so sure of your fate?

I shall even suppose that, after having defied every danger and overcome every difficulty, with the aid of your endurance, your strength, and your courage, you finally come into possession of a farm which can support you and your family, as, indeed, several of your countrymen are said to have done. Do you not suppose,

just the same, that you will feel a longing within you which you must endure from the very moment you take the final step which severs you from the fatherland — a longing which you will feel painfully for a long time, to say the least. I understand you, my good Bergen peasant. You do not live for this earth alone, you live also for Heaven. You have a devout spirit, which I have so often observed, when you have caught some idea which is higher than earthly things, when, in the holy place, you hear of the grace of God and His loving purposes with men, of Christ's redemption, of the communion of the Holy Ghost, of the life everlasting.

This devout spirit will follow you across the waters of the Atlantic and you will nourish it faithfully, with the help of your Bible, in the American forests. But where will you in the forest find your minister and your church? Six days of the week, according to the Law of God, shall you tend to your work — but there is a seventh day on which you shall rest from all labor and refresh your soul and, first and foremost, lift your spirit to God, praying to Him for strength for, and blessing upon, the six days of work. This Sabbath Day, according to Christian ordinance, has become the Sunday, because you can associate with that day the thought of your arisen and glorified Savior, in whom all your faith abides. And now Sunday comes. Do you hear the church bells from far or near calling you to holy fellowship with your brethern in the Lord? Where can you find the way to this church? Perhaps no altar has been raised in the wilderness to that God whom Christians worship? And where is your pastor — the man who has expounded for you the Law of God, and admonished you in faith, hope, and charity? Can you now find places like those where, once upon a time, you were received as a member of the Christian congregation, where you renewed your covenant with God, where you knelt in remembrance of Jesus, where, perhaps, you offered your hand to your wife, who now, because of her faith in you, has defied the dangers of the sea and sacrificed the dearest ties and memories in order to follow you in your exile? If similar places are not to be found where you now live, if you miss all these blessings which have so strengthened and refreshed your soul, if you no longer hear the living Word of God in His sanctuary, then I am sure your loss will be great, perhaps irrepa-

rable. That you should forget God; that you no longer should feel any longing for the Gospel, for the Table of Grace, and for that man who from your youth has distributed these gifts to you; that it should be a matter of no consequence to you if your children, through the lack of well-ordered schools, grow up in ignorance, and lose the faith of the fathers — all this is utterly inconceivable, unless you yourself depart from the faith, and God forbid!

I know, dear Christian friends, what it is that has enticed so many of your brethern to leave the fatherland in order to pursue a phantom of happiness in the American forests. I have looked up the traces of the first emigrants from Norway. I have followed these traces. I have read the reports from those who emigrated last year — reports which as yet are less than a year old, which were written a few weeks after the arrival of the emigrants in their adopted country at a time when the newness, the change, and the apparent advantage gained set their blood in lively motion and stunned their calm reflection. They have at once pictured everything which they saw and found in the states with fresh and living colors. They have praised the unlimited freedom, where no authority stands in the way of their free will, where no salary is asked for ministers and teachers, where no taxes or duties encumber their earnings, where no one suffers poverty and all are richly provided for, where abundance pours in from every direction without special effort, where extensive land is bought for an insignificant price, where the soil yields a rich crop without fertilization, where provisions cost no more than here among us, where a day laborer can earn a dollar a day, where a hired maid can earn from forty to fifty dollars and a hired man up to a hundred dollars a year, and so on.

Could not such accounts easily fool you? But let us now with cool reflection present a few considerations on the subject:

(1) Should a citizen of Norway, a free *udalman* or his son, who, according to the Constitution, has the right to sit in the national Parliament and there vote and present motions for the welfare and advancement of his country, has he any good reason for longing for greater civil liberty than that which already is his, according to the Constitution? Should a Norwegian citizen, who can take pride in having one of the wisest and most

upright men on earth as his king and ruler, desire to trade his happy, law-directed existence for an unbounded freedom which simply cannot exist in a moral, Christian country, and which does not, indeed, exist in the North American states, where authority must be established, as in every moral and Christian state, for the protection of its citizens and for the enforcement of its laws? Should a peasant in this free and favored Norway, which is rapidly rising to the same prosperity which the North American states now, after many years, are beginning to enjoy — should a peasant in this land, where at our last national assembly we were able to exempt the peasant from all direct taxes to the treasury, find it necessary to leave his paternal home for the sake of taxation? Taxes he must pay wherever he is a member of a social group or organization of any kind, if he expects to receive protection, if the poor in this group are to receive support, or if he wishes to have ministers and teachers; surely the hospitality of the Americans is not so generous that they will pay for the immigrants as their guests?

(2) The reports of abundance without effort, of the easy purchase of land, of the rich produce of the soil, of the low cost of provisions, of the high day's wages and pay for servants also deserve to be cooly considered before one is enticed into emigrating from Norway. We must, in my opinion, distinguish between two classes of emigrants: first, those who emigrate in order to make greater earnings in America than in their native land as mechanics or as day laborers and servants; and second, those who emigrate in order to buy land and become farmers.

A capable mechanic in America can, it is true, especially in the cities, get better pay for his work than is common in Europe, and can presumably, if his health and strength do not fail him, save up something for the future. But if it is in the cities he is to make a living, we must call attention to the fact that provisions and sustenance here is more expensive than in the country or in the settlements. As far as the day laborer is concerned, if he is strong and diligent he can earn much more than among us. The work, however, is very strenuous according to the reports, which mention especially canal-digging and road-building in the country; and one often gets into company with the scum of every nationality, so

that an honest man from Hardanger found it necessary to leave his coworkers in order not to hear their profane language, and for fear of being abused or even killed by them. Finally, as regards wages for servants, they are surely tempting enough to induce many a peasant boy or girl, who here at home has no prospects of obtaining a farm or a holding, to seek a living as a servant over there and thus, perhaps, with prudence, save enough to get a home of his own; but it is hard to believe that such wages are commonly paid, when we take into account by whom they must be paid.

The wages are paid by the colonist, that is, by the head of a family which has bought land for cultivation. When we consider that the colonist must have money enough to support himself and family for two or three years until the land which he has bought, at a reasonable price, to be sure, becomes cultivable; that, during this time, by dint of strenuous effort, he must clear the woods allotted to him, drain the marshes, and provide himself with expensive agricultural implements and cattle; that he must build a home for himself and family, a barn for his cattle, a granary for his crops, a storehouse for his implements; when we furthermore consider that, after having invested all this money and labor, he must be satisfied to receive a very low price for his farm products — then we must ask, how is he able to pay his hired man and his hired girl such high wages? We are led to doubt the truth of the report, and may well add that the fate of the colonist must often be far from enviable; perhaps he would have been better off in his native land if he had there invested the same money and labor which it cost him to settle in a strange land.

If the emigrant really has sufficient reason for leaving the home and the community where he is born in order to settle elsewhere and make greater profit, why does he not first ask: is there land for cultivation at a reasonable price in my own country? He would then receive an answer in the affirmative. He would learn that on the northwestern coast of Norway — in Finmarken, where the climate is not by far as bad as we imagine; in Alten-Talvig, where the scenery is most beautiful, in the vicinity of a prosperous and well-managed copper mine which offers the colonist a market for his products — are large stretches of land which he

can buy and cultivate at a small price and where already a number of colonists have settled. There we have the Cross River Valley (*Tverelvsdalen*), two miles in length, and there is the Eiby River Valley, a mile in length.[6] Cattle raising is the chief occupation, but agriculture can be pursued as a side occupation, and the fishing industry is quite dependable and profitable in March and April. And what a market can not the colonists find at the Alten Copper Works, at Hammerfest, and throughout the whole province, which now buys butter and meat from Sweden and Russia!

Thus we have recently been informed by the Reverend Fleischer of Alten-Talvig; and it deserves to be noted by every farmer who desires to emigrate that he might better try his luck in the land where he was born. Here he is familiar with the language, traditions, and customs, and he has access to devotional exercises and schools where his children may be instructed in the faith of their fathers. It is better that he seek his fortune here than in a land distant from his original home, where the languages are as numerous as in the confusion of tongues at Babel, where the living conditions, traditions, and customs are strange to him, and where he is not sure of finding either pastor or school, though he will feel the need of both sooner or later.

Consider also the following reports from the newspapers:

(a) Still another ship has sunk. It left Liverpool on February 4 of this year bound for New York with 200 emigrants. (*Dagen*, 1837, no. 57.)

(b) The ship Diamond has arrived at New York after a voyage of 100 days with 180 emigrants, of which 30 starved to death on the voyage because provisions had become so scarce that one in vain offered five dollars for a potato, a glass of water, or a handful of flour, yes, that one of the passengers offered all he had for a few drops of water. The passengers who still were alive when the ship arrived were in a most wretched plight. (*Börsenhalle*, March, 1837.)

(c) Several of the families which emigrated to America from Prussia a few years ago have returned. The many privations and the changed mode of living can only be endured by people in the

[6] In other words, fourteen and seven English miles, as a Norwegian mile is equal to seven English miles.

full vigor of youth, or by the poor, who are accustomed to submitting to necessity. (*Den Constitutionelle*, 1837, no. 71.)

(d) It is reported that a private letter from those parts of America where most of the emigrants have settled contains the most lamentable news regarding the condition of our countrymen; only the rich have succeeded in any measure; the poor have nothing to live on, and many already go from house to house with the beggar's pouch in order to scrape together money enough to return to Norway. (*Bergen's Merkur*, 1837, no. 40.)

(e) A hill near Troy, New York, sank into marshy ground on January 2 of this year and the lower part of the city, with houses, barns, and people, was buried in the ground. (*Morgenbladet* [Christiania], 1837, no. 64.)

(f) The department of finance has received the following information from the tinner, Torgersen, a man of Norwegian birth who lives in New York and is just now visiting in Christiania, but who intends soon to return to America. In his report the department has implicit faith.

Torgerson was living in New York last year, when the emigrants from Stavanger and vicinity arrived. It is his opinion that, without regard to position and class, it is just as hard to make a living in the North American states as here at home, but that the common man, who has not learned any trade and does not understand the English language, is exposed to great hardships when he arrives in North America; he cannot support himself except through day labor, which demands a much more strenuous exertion than we are used to here and does not pay more than enough for the support of life. Furthermore, the climate, which is different from what we are used to here, lays many an emigrant in the grave. It is true that the food used in a southern climate is finer than what we use here in the North, so that, for example, wheat bread takes the place of oaten bread. But in order to enjoy this, one must earn enough money to buy it. This is attended by many difficulties for the Norwegian emigrants in a strange land; it means that they must work unceasingly, with the greatest exertion, and with almost no prospects of getting homes of their own[7] or of acquiring fixed property.

[7] The Norwegian idiom is: *at kunne sætte Foden under eget Bord.*

The emigrants who came to New York last year were without money and in a pitiful plight; in part, they had to be supported by charity. Many of them went to Rochester, where they were employed building roads, but they returned to New York alarmed at the toil and drudgery without which they could not earn their daily bread. Most of them are said to have gone to Illinois, but we have not heard as yet how they are getting along. It is true that far in the interior of America land may be obtained for cultivation, but so much money is needed that it is utterly impossible for the emigrants from Stavanger and vicinity to go there. Land must be bought, cleared, and cultivated, and food must be bought elsewhere during the first three years, until the soil is ready to support its occupants. (*Den Constitutionelle*, 1837, no. 135.)

When we read these and similar reports and thus see how difficult and dangerous the voyage to America is; what privations and hardships the poor must endure there; into what misery a hasty decision can throw a whole family; that North America, even less than our own county, is free from violent natural disturbances and the resulting destruction, not to speak of the yellow fever; when we further notice that even last year's emigrants, who generally are reported to feel satisfied with their position, honestly and expressly warn people not to come to America with families and empty hands — ought not all this make our men and women think twice before making such a serious decision as to bid the fatherland farewell forever?

It has been my purpose, dear Christian friends, to cause you to think these things over carefully, and now I feel that I have done my duty; I must leave it to you to act in accordance with your best judgment. I hope you understand, by virtue of my position among you, that I have your welfare at heart, of which fact, indeed, I have given many proofs. May you therefore confidently ponder my words of admonition, and with faith in God rather endure a few burdens than thoughtlessly risk everything for an imaginary good which you are not sure of attaining. Here in Norway rest the ashes of your fathers; here you first saw the light of day; here you enjoyed many childhood pleasures; here you received your first impressions of God and of His love; here you and your sorrow, while there, when you are far away from all

that has been dear to you, who shall close your eyes in the last are still surrounded by relatives and friends who share your joy hour of life? A stranger's hand! And who shall weep at your grave? Perhaps — no one!

Give heed, then, to the advice David gave to his people: "Stay in the land and support yourself honestly." Or if real need compels you, or if preponderating advantages call you away from the paternal hearth, then keep the faith in God in your hearts and pray to the Almighty for strength to endure the hardships which you may encounter and which you do not choose to avoid. May He be with you on all your ways. That is my prayer in Jesus' name.

NEUMANN

BERGEN, MAY 24, 1837

NORWEGIANS IN THE WEST IN 1844: A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT

By Johan R. Reiersen

Translated and Edited by Theodore C. Blegen

The following account of the Norwegian settlements in the West is translated from chapter 10 of Johan R. Reiersen's *Veiviser for norske Emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske Stater og Texas* ["Pathfinder for Norwegian Emigrants to the United North American States and Texas"], a book published in Christiania in 1844.[1] The volume embodied the results of an investigation made by a pronounced Norwegian liberal, a newspaper editor who had definitely allied himself with the common people and was out of sympathy with the office-holding class. He took great interest in the emigration movement and eventually decided to go to America. A number of his friends engaged him to prepare a careful report on conditions in America, especially on prospects for emigrants, and they raised a sum of money to help defray his expenses. In the summer of 1843 he left Norway and journeyed to New Orleans by way of Havre, France. He traveled extensively in America, visited the Norwegian settlements in Illinois and Wisconsin, pushed his inquiries widely in other states, and also made a trip to Texas, where he met Governor Sam Houston.

His book contains ten chapters dealing with the following subjects respectively: natural conditions in general; agriculture; the general problem of establishing oneself on a farm; trade and industry; minerals and mining; the public lands; geographical conditions in Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin; the government of the states and their relation to the

[1] A copy of the volume is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Union; the republic of Texas; and the Norwegian settlements in the West.

For the prospective emigrant in the forties the last chapter was doubtless the most interesting, for in it the author not only gives a description of the conditions in the Norwegian settlements but also sums up his observations and offers advice. He calls attention both to the good and to the bad sides of the situation, but on the whole takes a favorable view. He wrote knowing that in Norway the tone of the conservative official opinion with reference to emigration was hostile, and occasionally, in discussing the American situation, he is perhaps not wholly to be depended upon, particularly in the matter of figures. Generally, however, his zeal is held in check and his judgments are well considered.

Reiersen's book was widely read in Norway and exerted considerable influence upon the emigration movement. It contains a mass of information, far more detailed than that in Rynning's *True Account of America,* although less compact. It was based upon first-hand knowledge of actual conditions in America. Unlike the average "America letter" and some of the little books written by immigrants, it represented contact with most of the Norwegian settlements as well as a careful study of American conditions generally. The author, moreover, had studied American writings. In his preface he mentions Lewis and Clark, Schoolcraft, Flint, Long, Peck, Lea, Delafield, and James Hall as writers with whose works he was familiar. On the whole the book must be considered one of the most substantial contributions made to the advertising of America in Norway before the Civil War.

An interesting example of the specific influence of Reiersen's book has been given by a contemporary, Nils Hanson Fjeld of South Aurdal, Valders, who came to America in 1847, among the earliest emigrants from that district of Norway. He describes the economic conditions which caused him to listen with great interest to reports about America. The "America fever"

was only beginning to make itself felt. Contradictory reports were in circulation, some of them exceedingly "rosy-hued," and others very dark, — he speaks of the reports about poisonous snakes, dangerous wild animals, and more dangerous "wild men," — until finally there came to the district two copies of Reiersen's book. People began to say, "We now have the printed word to rely upon," and many of the doubters were won over to the "orthodox faith" in the promised land beyond the sea. "This book, which came from America, caused many to forsake their homes and the land of their fathers in order to participate in the good things of the New World." [2]

It should be noted that Reiersen, who returned to Norway after his first trip of investigation, organized a small company of Norwegian emigrants who came to America in 1845. He settled in Texas and died there in 1864.

THE NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS

To the brief historical sketch of the emigration from Norway up to the year 1838 which Rynning, the student, has presented in his Account of America I have nothing further to add. Written with veracity and good faith, its slight errors in matters of detail may be ascribed to his limited experience.[3] It occasioned a considerable emigration in the following year, especially from Numedal, but the subsequent death of Rynning, which was caused by highly unhealthful work on the great canal projected between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan, caused again almost a complete cessation of emigration from Norway in 1839, 1840, and 1841. But more favorable reports from America, together with the news of Hans Gasmann's decision to emigrate, awakened anew the smoldering emigration spirit in all parts of Norway. It evidenced itself in the great emigration of 1843 from Telemarken and the Skien parishes, as well as from the districts about Bergen

[2] *Billed-magazin*, 2: 237.

[3] A translation of Ole Rynning's *True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner* is published in the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2: 221–269 (November, 1917).

and especially from Voss. Approximately two thousand emigrants left Norway in that year to settle in Wisconsin Territory, and the total number would hardly have been less in the present year (1844) had not considerable numbers waited for more accurate and reliable information about American conditions and the situation in the Norwegian settlements before making their decision to leave. I have attempted so far as possible in this volume to present all the information which I have been able to secure, with a view to enabling everyone to form a clear conception of conditions in the frontier states, and I shall now, in conclusion, briefly describe the circumstances of our emigrated countrymen as I have observed them in their new homes.

The Norwegian emigrants of 1837 settled, as Rynning states, in the northern part of Illinois, on the Fox River, and at Beaver Creek where Rynning lived. As a result of unhealthful conditions which caused several deaths at the latter place, the survivors moved to the Fox River settlement near Ottawa, La Salle County, Illinois, 41½ degrees north latitude. At this place lives — among others — Gjert Hovland, famous for his letters. This therefore became in reality the first Norwegian settlement of any importance, and numbers at present about six hundred inhabitants, chiefly emigrants from the vicinity of Stavanger and Bergen. Most of these have passed the initial stage, have erected good houses, and live in a comfortable and independent position. Although agriculture constitutes the main support of the settlement, many persons carry on cattle raising as their most important means of subsistence, and keep large herds of cattle and droves of swine, which find food in abundance on the grassy prairies. For the marketing of products the place is well chosen. They are disposed of in part at Ottawa, and in part at the important trading port of Chicago, on Lake Michigan, about seventy-five miles to the east. When the proposed canal — of which only one-fourth remains to be dug — is completed, the land will increase in importance and rise in value. This tract, therefore, was very soon settled by American immigrants and the suitable land was all taken up. The Norwegian emigrants who arrived in 1838 were accordingly forced to go farther north, where there was plenty of land to buy everywhere. The Norwegians in this set-

tlement have schools in common with the neighboring Americans, but in 1842 they built a church, or chapel, of their own, where the well known Elling Eielsen conducted devotional exercises for a time. The majority understand the English language, however, and usually attend the American churches in the vicinity, where their church rites and affairs are cared for.

The immigrants from Numedal who came to America in 1839, the year after Rynning's death, were obliged to seek land farther toward the northwest. They selected some tracts on the Rock River, partly in the state of Illinois and partly in Wisconsin. A wealthy farmer, Clement Stabek, together with some others, settled in a locality called Rock Ground, where prairie and woodland are found in suitable proportions. Others — and among them Ole Nattestad — settled a few miles farther north on Jefferson and Rock prairies. In this way small pioneer colonies were established in this vicinity. Although the land on Jefferson Prairie is rather deficient in woods, most of the inhabitants of these three communities have made very good progress when one considers the short time they have lived here. Many good and substantial houses have been put up in place of the inadequate log huts; and enclosed wheat and corn fields stretch far out on the prairie and yield all the necessaries for an independent and care-free existence. Somewhat farther west, on a high rolling prairie near the Pecatonica River, is a fourth and newer Norwegian settlement, and a few Norwegians have established themselves a short distance from the city of Mineral Point, a little farther northwest.

Most of the inhabitants of these small but thriving settlements are from Numedal. They have a few schools of their own and during my visit they united in sending a call for a minister from Norway, with an offer of an annual salary of three hundred dollars, a farm of eighty or one hundred and sixty acres, a free parsonage, in addition to voluntary payments for such incidental officiations as marriages, baptisms, and the like. They decided to build a church on the grounds to be set apart for the use of the minister. More than two hundred adults of both sexes affixed their signatures to this document, and in the spring a letter was sent to Bishop Sörensen, asking him to send out an able and God-fearing young clergyman to undertake the new charge.

The settlement at Muskego and Wind Lake was founded in 1840 by Sören Bakke and Johannesen of Drammen. It lies partly in Milwaukee and partly in Racine counties, Territory of Wisconsin, forty-third degree of latitude, on the shores of six small lakes. The whole region is flat, with many marshes. The tillable elevations — rising only slightly above the level of the marshes — consist of glades between forests of white oak and the soil is a thin layer of mould over a stratum of clay. Immigrants from Voss, Telemarken, Numedal, and elsewhere, have settled in this region and have begun to till the land, but the crops are not yet sufficient to supply the needs of all the settlers. No signs of malaria appeared in the settlement during the first year, but in the following two years, when large numbers of poor immigrants swarmed into the colony — chiefly because it was the nearest Norwegian settlement to the city of Milwaukee — and were lodged, many of them sick as a result of the ocean journey, in the small pioneer huts, a general wave of sickness swept the colony, attacking almost everyone and laying a great many in the grave. This misfortune, combined with considerable indolence on the part of some and a lack of enterprise on the part of most of the settlers, chiefly accounts for the unfavorable conditions in the colony. It is rather expensive, furthermore, to clear the land, and the soil is less fertile than is usual elsewhere. About two hundred families have purchased land, chiefly in small lots of forty acres each; only a few have larger tracts and as many own no land at all. The population in 1843 was estimated at between fifteen hundred and two thousand, but of these a large number planned to push on into the interior in the spring. That lack of food and of work should exist under such circumstances can surprise no one. Nor is it surprising that those who have come to this settlement without having seen any other lands in the new states of America should form an extremely unfavorable opinion of the conditions of the Norwegians and in America generally. In the meantime, schools have been temporarily established at several places in common with neighboring Americans. The settlement has organized and chosen as its pastor a Danish student, Clausen, who was ordained by a German Lutheran minister. He is a very able, pious, and gifted young man who in a

short time has won the respect and confidence of the whole colony. Elling Eielsen also lives in this community, and after having earlier ranted against the sinfulness of wedlock has married a Norwegian girl. As a result of several very questionable actions he has entirely lost the confidence formerly reposed in him and has almost played out his rôle of Apostle. Hansen, a teacher of gymnastics from Frederiksvaern, has also settled in this community.

Almost in the heart of Wisconsin, on the prairies which border the capital, Madison, particularly on Koshkonong Prairie by a lake of the same name in Dane County, a large number of the most recent Norwegian immigrants have formed several small settlements within a circuit of ten to twelve miles. Only a few families have lived here as long as two or three years; the larger part arrived in the fall of 1843. The region is healthful, the soil fertile, and the land beautiful, but woods are lacking to some extent and as a result of this the farmers settle at a considerable distance from each other. Malaria, it is true, has visited this settlement, but it has been mild in form, and no one has died from it. The few who have lived here for some time have made very good progress, and have been able to dispose of a large part of their crops in the nearest villages. A Swede who calls himself Smidt and represents himself as being a minister has settled here and preaches to the settlers, but his conduct is not such as to win respect for him.

The settlement at Pine Lake was founded by a Swedish divine called Unonius, who settled at this place in 1841 with his family and several other Swedes. Not a few Norwegians have since joined this settlement, and as Gasmann chose this locality many of his countrymen joined him. A very wealthy Dane, Fribert by name, and a Swede who calls himself Saint-Cyr, who also had a large capital, have likewise bought land here. Thus a considerable settlement has grown up within a short period of time, and is being developed with ability, insight, and power. The land is open, and in some places rather hilly, but not therefore less attractive. The soil is fertile and the neighborhood healthful. The settlement is located in the northeastern corner of Milwau-

kee County. The inhabitants have elected Unonius as their minister. He was to be ordained by the bishop of the Episcopal Church and his salary was to be paid out of the funds of the American mission. It was decided to build a church at the western end of Pine Lake.

In the southern part of Iowa, 40½ degrees of north latitude, there is a little Norwegian settlement which lies by a stream called Sugar Creek in Lee County, near the Mississippi on the opposite banks of which is situated the principal seat of the Mormons, Nauvoo. This place was presumably chosen by the well known Hans Barlien, who died last year at a very advanced age, and a Norwegian named Tesmann, both of whom emigrated on account of political difficulties. From thirty to forty families live along the above-mentioned creek. The land is chiefly woodland, difficult to clear, but possessing good soil. The majority have occupied claims for several years and are liable to suffer losses unless they can secure the titles when the land is put up at auction. The chief crop is maize; and swine are raised to a considerable extent. I do not think the place is healthful, but no deadly sickness has visited the settlement. A part of the inhabitants have gone over to the Mormon teachings. These doctrines, the cardinal tenets of which are built upon expositions and prophecies in the Revelation of St. John, assume the establishment of a sort of thousand years' kingdom which will survive the common destruction of the earth and its people. Joseph Smith, the founder of this sect, is heralded as a prophet, and his followers call themselves the "Latter Day Saints," and maintain that the earth and all its goods belong to them as God's chosen people. They believe that all who do not belong to their sect will find themselves, after death, in a prison from which they can only be released by Mormons, each Mormon freeing one soul. Aside from this, they profess Christianity, the first law of which they violate, however, by wishing to arrogate to themselves all those things which are rightfully in the possession of human beings generally. Driven out of the state of Missouri, Joseph Smith founded the city of Nauvoo, Illinois, the population of which, after a few years, has grown to twenty thousand, while the total

number of adherents of the sect is estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand souls. They have missionaries in several countries. That their evangelists have not failed to work among our credulous and simple countrymen who live in their near vicinity goes without saying. Joseph Smith, the Prophet, was recently killed, but it is hardly believable that the sect, which contains many talented persons, will go under because of his death.

The chief results of my observations with reference to Norwegian settlements in America may be summed up in the following remarks. All those who have been in America for a few years, with a few individual exceptions, are in a contented and independent position. Anxiety and care with respect to daily bread and subsistence for their families burden them no longer. Their cultivated fields yield them a sufficiency of bread-stuffs, their cows give them milk and butter in abundance, and their swine furnish them fully with meat. They do not suffer want. Taxes and rents encumber no one, and fear of distraints and seizures does not trouble their minds. Poor rates and begging are practically unknown, and even the children of deceased poor people are eagerly received by the Americans, who support them and give them instruction. But, all things considered, this is as much as one can say. The majority still live in their original log cabins, which, however, are always a good deal better than the mountain huts in which they lived in Norway. They have only a little money, because of the indolence with which many carry on their farming. And the old manner of conducting their household affairs, to which they were accustomed in the old country, is continued. Unsanitary conditions obtain in many cases. Lack of efficiency and enterprise, qualities upon which success in America altogether depends, and in general lack of information and of education are some primary causes why our countrymen have not as yet progressed further than they have.

In my letter to Gasmann[4] I have briefly touched upon the causes which have hindered the advancement of the Norwegian immigrants in America, but I shall here explain them more fully.

[4] In the preface of his book Reiersen prints a long letter written by himself to Hans Gasmann.

1) Disproportionately high and unexpected traveling expenses, both to New York, and from New York to the frontier states in the West. Up to the last years emigrants have paid from twenty-five to thirty specie dollars for each adult for the trip from Norway to New York in Norwegian ships, and from twelve to fifteen specie dollars for transportation from New York to Chicago or Milwaukee in addition to provisions, maintenance in the cities, head taxes, and the like. Thus in aggregate the expenses have amounted to between sixty and seventy specie dollars per person. Many persons, moreover, have taken with them a large amount of furniture, implements, and the like, for which the freight charges on the canal boats have been rather high. Thus a family of five or six persons has often expended from three to four hundred specie dollars in traveling expenses alone, thereby losing the greater part of the capital with which they intended to begin their business in America. Unable to purchase land, they have been forced to seek employment as laborers, in this way making a new start and continuing until they have been able to save a sufficiently large sum of money to buy a small farm. This process has used up at least two years, however.

2) Sickness. Occasionally this is caused by unhealthful natural conditions in the region of settlement, but it is more often brought about by other causes, among which the following may be suggested: a) Cramped and unsanitary room aboard the comparatively small Norwegian ships. The ships, moreover, carry cargoes of iron which make it necessary to close the hatches as soon as even a slight swell comes on, with the result that fresh ventilation is prevented. Not a few passengers have died on the sea journey and others have arrived at their destination ill. b) A change in climate, which always exerts a certain influence upon persons unaccustomed to it. c) A different kind of drinking water, which, even though it be actually good and healthful, is somewhat detrimental in its first effects upon the constitution. Furthermore, the immigrants all too often have not taken the pains to supply themselves with good spring or well water, but have merely dug holes at the edges of swamps, where water can be found most easily. The use of such stagnant water as their only drink on warm summer days has naturally been a contribu-

tory cause of sickness. d) An altered mode of living, particularly the change from a diet consisting chiefly of foods made from potatoes and coarse flours to a prodigal use of pork at almost every meal, together with wheat bread. This indulgence in pork produces an excess of bile, and makes the eater susceptible to the dangerous bilious fever. e) Living in damp and moist houses or cabins. Arriving at their destination toward autumn, the immigrants have had to use some time in selecting land, and then, in greatest haste, they have been forced to build houses of raw materials, sometimes, indeed, doing nothing but dig a sort of dug-out in a hillside so that they may at least have a roof over their heads during the approaching cold winter. That cold and other forms of sickness should develop in such damp, leaky huts, where often several families are stowed together breathing the confined, stuffy, and unhealthful air, one can easily understand. f) Lack of cleanliness, carelessness, and a failure to employ medicines in time have naturally both aggravated and prolonged — and often caused to degenerate into deadly contagion — diseases which under other circumstances would have been neither protracted nor dangerous. I presume everyone will understand, therefore, that many circumstances taken together, which would have brought on the same results in any country or climate, have been the chief causes for the sickness which has overtaken the Norwegian settlers, and that America and the American climate can not be held accountable. One will also understand how prejudicial this sickness has been to the advancement of our countrymen in well-being and prosperity.

To these things may be added: 3) A lack of knowledge necessary to carry on agriculture in a systematic and well-ordered manner, combined, in the case of many of the Norwegian immigrants, with indolence; and 4) A deficiency in mutual helpfulness, harmony, and unity. In all these points the native Americans are the opposite of our countrymen. They possess a powerful spirit of enterprise, which drives them steadily on, with enthusiasm and persistence, to the achievement of their goal. They possess a versatile — albeit often a superficial — culture, with a knowledge of practical affairs and an extraordinary genius for everything relating to public life. When there is something to

be pushed to completion which is beyond the powers of a single individual, they unite their efforts, and there is never any lack of help and support where needed. In the latter respect they are especially praiseworthy as men and as neighbors. Upon the arrival of a new settler, their first question — which I have heard innumerable times — is not whether he is rich or poor, but whether he is a man of activity, of enterprising spirit, a man determined to succeed. If they find that such is his spirit, he is certain to receive all the assistance which they are able to give him; and only such a man can win civic respect and public honors — provided of course that he possesses an honorable and respectable character. The petty egotisms, the venal jealousies and grudges, which unfortunately are found among almost all classes of our people, are traits unknown in the American farmer. The latter fully understands that the best possible progress for the settlement as a whole is the best guarantee for the welfare of each individual settler. It is from such a farming class that justices of the peace, jurymen, representatives to the legislative assembly, and other officers holding responsible and honorable positions are chosen. With such a yeomanry the Americans are able to say with pride, "We have no peasants and no beggars." Our older countrymen who emigrate to America and who are not already enterprising and able men, will have difficulty in clinging to their old ways here and will consequently not make the progress which they would have been sure to make under other circumstances. If they are not in continual intercourse with the Americans, they learn the language very imperfectly, and their interest in politics can not be aroused so long as they do not read the newspapers which constitute a part of the intellectual enjoyment of every American. The case is otherwise with those who emigrate in their younger years, live in constant touch with the Americans, fully understand their language, acquire some of their characteristics, and fully enter into their conditions of life. A new spirit is awakened in these immigrants, a feeling of independence and freedom, a spirit of tolerance in matters of religion, and an open mind for information, together with that conviction of their worth as men and citizens which is the cornerstone of the moral virtues. The same will be the case with the second generation,

for whose happiness and fortune the greater part of our emigrated heads of families have made the sacrifices which are always inseparable from a migration.

As to the moral conduct of our countrymen in America, I can say that with a few individual exceptions I have never heard them otherwise described by the Americans than as orderly, sober, and honest people who lack that spirit of covetousness which in America is ascribed to the Germans. In speaking of their conditions and conduct, the Governor of Wisconsin, General Doty, paid them the compliment of saying that he "regarded them as morally good people, and that not a single one of the three or four thousand Norwegians who had settled in the Territory had as yet been publicly prosecuted for any kind of crime." In the meantime, I have encountered here and there several drunkards, and in Muskego a couple of old people have become beggars by trade as a result of receiving from the Americans — to whom begging was unknown — when they first arrived, now a ham, now a cheese, now a bushel of wheat, and so forth, thus being encouraged to adopt the ways of a mendicant.

The chief conclusions of my investigations may be summed up in a few words. Everyone, whether with or without money upon arrival, not only has made progress but also is making progress every year, although not in so high a degree as one might expect or desire. There is no evidence of want or poverty or of going backward. Well-paid work is available for all who are able and willing to use their powers and gifts and everyone enjoys the prospect of achieving a comfortable and an independent position.

In conclusion, only a few suggestions for future emigrants. My opinion is that it has been a mistake to come via New York. I believe the journey should be made by way of New Orleans. Transportation from the former city is extremely inconvenient, and involves many transfers and expenses. One must first take passage on a steamboat which goes up the Hudson River to the city of Albany. At that city one takes a canal boat for Buffalo, where one must again go aboard a steamboat (or sailing vessel) for the trip to Chicago or Milwaukee through Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. At all these stops the immigrants are exposed to innumerable tricks and frauds, suffer many inconveniences, losses,

and difficulties as a result of the frequent changes, and are again subjected to all the dangers and evils of a sea journey upon the stormy lakes. The fare amounts to between eight and twelve dollars per person, in addition to the cost of board, and the trip lasts from three weeks to a month. If one sails from Norway in the latter part of May one can not ordinarily reach one's destination before the end of August and must then face a severe winter. No crops can then be raised and one can not expect any until the following autumn and then only an insignificant one from the spring sowing because the ground will not have been broken at the proper time. The total cost of the journey, counting board, will amount — under the most fortunate circumstances — to forty or forty-five specie dollars, in addition to the charges for one's baggage. He who purchases land must be prepared to support his family for a whole year.

If, on the other hand, one comes by way of New Orleans, the cost of the journey will be considerably reduced and the inconveniences suggested above will be escaped. The journey by this route ought to be begun in January or the early part of February and undertaken via Havre, France. The winter cold need not be considered very seriously, for the rooms aboard ship can easily be heated, and as the weather is usually constant, with east and north winds, at this time of year, the trip across the North Sea will not ordinarily take more than six or eight days. Large American ships, in ballast, sail almost every day at that time of year for New Orleans, and the trip can be arranged for about fifty francs, or approximately nine specie dollars per person. After a short swing to the south, the trade winds are encountered, and these continue steadily straight to the American coasts. The whole journey takes from thirty-five to forty days at this time of year. Arrived at New Orleans, one boards one of the numerous steamers which often leave every hour of the day up the Mississippi to St. Louis, Missouri. The second class fare is three dollars. From St. Louis one can go by steamboat to whatever place one has chosen for settlement, whether in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, or Wisconsin, the fare being in accordance with the length of the trip, but the rate does not exceed two dollars to the city of Galena at the Wisconsin border. The journey can be made in

ten or twelve days. The luggage is not weighed on these steamboats, and a considerable amount will be carried without extra charge. The trip up this peaceful and majestic river is exceptionally pleasant.

After arriving at one's destination in April, there is time to select land, to plow and sow a few acres in order to get grain for food in the fall, and one has the whole summer in which to build good and comfortable houses, fence one's fields, and break as large a piece of land as one wishes to sow in the fall. Thus one has virtually gained a whole year, and I believe the journey will have been made with fewer difficulties and at a far less cost than would be the case had one traveled by way of New York. Estimating the cost of food (which should be bought chiefly at Havre) at ten specie dollars — that is fully high enough — the cost of the journey to one of the frontier states will be between thirty and thirty-five dollars per person, that is, about ten dollars less than by the other route. For a family of five persons such a saving, obviously, will total fifty specie dollars, and when one adds to this the cost of support for a whole year — which is also saved — then such a family has saved in all a sufficient capital with which to purchase eighty acres of land.

Should the emigrant desire to go to Texas, this route is also the most advantageous. From New Orleans he takes a steamboat up the Mississippi and Red rivers to the city of Natchitoches, Louisiana, near the Texan border. The fare costs two dollars. He then continues overland to San Augustine where the first land office in Texas is situated. No immigrant should plan to come to New Orleans later than in April or May, for the summer climate is unhealthful, and the yellow fever usually rages in the months of July, August, and September.

To those who prefer to take the New York route I will give this advice: Put yourselves in the hands of the Norwegian-Swedish Consul in that city, Mr. Zacharison, who according to common report is an exceptionally honest and reliable man in whom one may repose full confidence. Our countrymen who have preferred to turn to the first and best swindler they have met rather than to the consul have in many cases been forced to ascribe to their suspicions of the latter the blame for later swin-

dles and misfortunes which they have suffered. In connection with some utterance in my letter to Gasmann, written merely on the basis of rumor, I believe I owe the Consul this declaration.

My account is at an end, since a more detailed plan for a future Norwegian settlement in America is intended only for my patrons, — those who initiated and in large part have borne the expenses of the journey of which the present account is a result. May the many persons who are torn with doubt as to what decision to make find in this volume the information which they desire. Then the purpose of the author in issuing the book will be completely fulfilled.

AN EMIGRANT VOYAGE IN THE FIFTIES

By H. Cock-Jensen

Translated by Karen Larsen

As we look at the large luxurious and well equipped emigrant steamers that today make the trip to America in six or seven days or less, it seems strange when we think of conditions fifty or sixty years ago. Then the emigrants had to be crowded together on board small wooden vessels, very much like cattle nowadays. They had to do without all comforts and, all in all, suffer so much that we may well ask ourselves how they were able to endure it. But, the Lord be praised, things went better than might have been expected. We were in those days a race that had not been pampered; we were used to endure privations and to take the brunt of things.

As far as I can remember, it was in Porsgrund that the emigrant traffic of this neighborhood began. It was in the year 1850, I believe, that the ship owner Peter Magnus Petersen of that city, began to carry emigrants in his ship, the "Amelia," and a little later in other ships, all at his own expense. At about the same time, the ship-owning company *Flood* took up the same business with their ship, "Industry," under Captain Bertel Atzlew. The ships carried from eighty to one hundred fifty passengers according to their size, some going to New York and some to Quebec.

After this beginning, several ship owners in the Eastland entered into this business. In 1852 my brother, H. Quist Jensen of Helgeraa, with the ship "Columbus" (owner Hans

[1] This account by a former sea captain was published in Norwegian under the title "Emigrantfart for 50–60 aar siden," in *Nordmandsforbundet*, 1:51–57 (1908), and it is printed here in translation with the permission of the editor of that periodical. In the translation the supplied title has been slightly altered; literally it should read "An Emigrant Voyage from Fifty to Sixty Years Ago." *Ed.*

Moller, Porsgrund) went to New York with about one hundred passengers, some of whom embarked at Helgeraa, some at Gøteborg and Kristianssand. In 1854 the ship "Norden" under Captain Rosen (owner Hans Christiansen, Larvik) went to Quebec in the emigrant traffic at the same time as I carried one hundred passengers to the same place in the ship "Laurvig" (owner Iver Falkenberg, Larvik).

The arrangements on board were very primitive and inadequate. On the beams between decks was laid a deck of planks with hatchways down into the hold, where all the baggage was stowed away on top of the cargo. Two rows of bunks of rough boards were built up, one above the other, the whole length of the ship from fore to aft. Between these open bunks there were often put up special berths reserved for emigrants whose demands were greater. Everything else was used in common — no separate rooms for men and women. Light was admitted through open hatchways and partly through skylights in the deck. There was canvas in the hatchways, but during storms and rough seas these often had to be covered, and if this continued for any length of time the air in the room below occupied by the emigrants often became frightfully bad. There was no first or second cabin. Each passenger paid twenty-five dollars for his passage, but had to supply himself with bedding and food for the voyage. The board consisted chiefly of smoked and salted meat, *fladbrød*, and casks of sour milk.[2] The ships, however, had to equip themselves with ample provisions in case the food of the emigrants should give out during the voyage.

There was only one caboose for all the emigrants in common, but occasionally the ship's caboose was used in addition. Every one cooked and fixed his food for himself. It is clear that under these conditions the meals must necessarily be both irregular and inadequate — the porridge pot was boiling all day

[2] *Fladbröd* is a brittle Norwegian "flat bread." *Ed.*

long. Generally the captain and the emigrants arranged that one or two from among the latter were chosen every day to supervise the cleaning. This was of course not much to brag of, especially in the beginning when all had to struggle with seasickness (yet it was really remarkable how soon seasickness generally disappeared) or during a prolonged storm when the hatches had to be kept covered.

A definite portion of water was doled out to the passengers every day. Just as there was no supervision and no medical inspection before starting, so there was, to begin with, no ship's doctor on board. The first emigrant ship from this neighborhood which is known to have had its own doctor was the above-mentioned "Norden" of Laurvig.

The passengers were generally landed in New York and Quebec. Upon landing, they had to go to the quarantine station where they were subjected to a medical inspection. The sick were held back, the well were allowed to continue at once their journey inland to country or town and generally they went to Albany and thence to Wisconsin. As soon as they had disembarked, the ship had nothing to do with them, neither responsibility nor risk.

In spite of the absence of comforts, life on board such an emigrant vessel might be quite gay. When the weather was fine and the Atlantic lay clear and smooth, the deck at times rang with merriment in the evenings. The accordion was brought out and to its tones the couples whirled about. Games were played — in wooden shoes and wadmal skirt many a time — and here life-long connections were often formed.

As an example, however, of the sufferings and misery that such an emigrant voyage might involve, I wish to relate the story of a trip which I took in 1854 with the above-mentioned ship "Laurvig."

The "Laurvig" was an old vessel, somewhat leaky, poorly equipped, and a poor sailer. Before sailing there was no inspection of the ship or of its equipment. The captain had

to arrange everything according to his best judgment, buying a medicine chest and the like. We took on a cargo of about one hundred tons of iron in the hold, and in Gøteborg we took on board about fifty Swedish emigrants, mainly country folks from Dalarne, but also a few persons of the upper classes, for example a minister's and a merchant's families.* From Gøteborg we sailed up to Norway where we took on about thirty passengers at Helgeraa. They were mainly from the uplands of Drammen. In the latter half of July, 1854, all were embarked, about one hundred persons including the crew of twelve men.

There were tears and pale faces on board as we set out to sea. Of the many who now left their fatherland, the great majority never saw the mountains of Norway again. All went well and the weather was fine until we were several degrees west of Ireland. Then began severe storms that lasted a long time, shifting from southeast to northwest, with a terrific sea that brought great suffering to the poor people, who were mainly inland folks. The storm lasted several weeks, off and on like a hurricane. It reached its greatest strength particularly when from the southeast and improved somewhat when it swung around to the northwest. This happened regularly in periods of three days.

One can imagine the sufferings of the wretched creatures who were shut up in the dark room night and day, for the hatches were battened as the waves went over the deck con-

* Among the emigrants there was also a young Swedish lieutenant of noble family. He had married below his rank and now, with his wife, he was going to make a future for himself on the other side of the Atlantic. The newlyweds were very happy and were constantly billing like two turtle doves. But when the first genuine high sea began, the lieutenant had to seek the railing and to bend his back. During this process, there was heard from him a violent ejaculation: "By all the saints, if I did not lose my teeth!" There was no dentist on board who could furnish him with new ones, and from that day the billing decreased noticeably.

tinually. The room of the emigrants was lighted by two or three lamps that were burning night and day down there in the poisoned air and amid all the filth. As a result of this wretchedness an unfortunate contagious disease broke out, namely dysentery. It began in the upper bunk aft and continued regularly on starboard until it jumped over to larboard and there spread in the same manner.

The first person who was stricken was a woman from Dalarne, and the cup of her misery was filled when a few days after the outbreak of the disease, she was confined, in the midst of all this wretchedness. The child was cared for by the other mothers as best they could. On the third day after her confinement the woman died, was laid in a casket nailed together from boards, and lowered into the sea. The burial ceremony was simple yet impressive and was performed by the captain and a Swedish judge (a splendid and genial man who was of great help to me during the whole voyage). The ship was belayed, the flag hoisted at half mast, prayers were read, and the coffin was lowered into the sea. With this the melancholy act was over — until the next time. I shudder even today when I think of the terrible state we were in with so many persons below deck who were fatally ill. Yet the poor unfortunates were gentle and resigned and bore their cross with great patience.

The misery increased day by day. The symptoms of the illness were a violent diarrhea and profuse discharge of blood followed by exhaustion. Finally there appeared a marked swelling all over the body and then the end was near. All astringent medicine on board was used, but to no avail, and it got so bad that the emigrants used crushed brick baked into a pancake, as they imagined this would help them. It was strange that the longer the illness lasted, the greater became their appetite, until death occurred on the fourth, fifth, up to the eighth day.

Now one died after the other till thirteen passengers had been lowered into the sea. At the same time the crew were

also infected, and the boatswain, Anders Olsen Bua, died. This death made a deep impression on all of us and the grief of the crew was great. In the first place, the deceased was a capable and kindly boy and, in the second place, the working force of the crew was much weakened, as many were ill. The quantity of sail and other things had to be decreased and consequently the sailing became less rapid and the voyage longer.

As the sickness was continuing and spreading and the last astringent medicine had been used up, in desperation and dread of the result, I resorted to the last expedient: giving the sick laxative oil. For I had heard at home that when nothing else helped, oil must be tried to cleanse the bowels. And with the help of God, this remedy did good service, so that from then on, the afflicted improved noticeably every day and after this no deaths occurred. (Later I was told at the quarantine station in Quebec that oil was the only remedy to which one could resort when all others failed.)

After three weeks of storm and misery, the weather improved somewhat and we had already reached the outer banks of Newfoundland. But here a new grief threatened us. The provisions of the emigrants were almost consumed. The ship had, it is true, some provisions in reserve, but entirely too little for so many, and therefore we faced certain starvation, perhaps even death from famine. Our only hope was that we might get good weather and a calm so that we could fish on the banks. Our prayers were really answered when four or five days later we got a calm on the southern St. Pierre bank, where all fishing tackle was taken into use and we were so fortunate as to catch four large halibuts and eighty-six unusually large codfish. There was great joy both among us and among the emigrants, especially the sick, for now we were plentifully supplied with fresh food for a long time.

Now we continued with a west wind and beat up the river towards Quebec and two days afterward we reached St. Paul, where we hailed an outbound Canadian vessel and were given

two barrels of flour. A few days later, farther up the river, we met a Norwegian boat, if I remember correctly, the "Industri," under Captain August Pettersen of Brevig, from which we were once more supplied with flour and necessary provisions. With greedy eyes, we noticed a large butchered hog hanging on board in the rigging of the "Industri," but we did not succeed in buying any of it.

Two days later, after a voyage from Norway of eleven weeks and three days, we reached the quarantine station, where all — both the sick and the well — had to land for inspection. The well embarked again and continued with us to Quebec and about twenty sick remained behind. Only a few days later, however, they joined the rest of us in Quebec.

Some days later the hour of separation came and each went to his destination. I must say it was touching and pathetic in the highest degree to bid farewell for life to these patient, kindly people who had suffered so much and were still able to wear a hopeful smile on their pale faces. God, who guided all so well, was good to us. In memory of this eventful voyage, the emigrants at parting presented me with a beautifully wrought silver snuffbox with the following inscription: "Erindring til kapt. H. C. J. af de svenske emigranterne. Quebek 20/10 1854." [3]

About the return voyage of the "Laurvig" I can briefly relate that we loaded in Quebec, and in the first part of November, after ice had already formed in the river, we sailed for London. On the way back I had a young physician as a passenger, Schönberg, who had been ship's doctor on "Norden" with Captain Rosen from Laurvig. He was later the well known Professor Schönberg of Christiania. This genial young man was of great help to us on the stormy return voyage. On most of the trip we had to tack before the wind to save ourselves from being crushed by the terrific sea. We often had

[3] "A remembrance to Capt. H. C. J. from the Swedish emigrants. Quebec 20/10 1854."

heavy fogs also. The ship took in huge breakers and was very leaky. The pumps had to be kept going night and day. Dr. Schönberg helped everywhere and with his good spirits put vigor and courage into us all. On Christmas day we reached London and from there I was going home to be married. In the latter part of March, 1855, we came to the shore of Norway, which was frozen way down to Lister. Finally we entered a little inlet near Farsund, and from this place I had to go by land to my home at Helgeraa. That winter the ice lay so thick along the shore that in Arendal I met Captain Sörlie of Laurvig who had skated from Arendal to Laurvig — outside the skerries, in a straight line — and returned home the same day. The winter of 1855 was doubtless the most severe winter within the memory of man.

About the fate of the good ship "Laurvig" I might add that its later commander was Captain Jan Christiansen from Laurvig, that it was wrecked in the Mediterranean and was salvaged at Malta. The wreck was bought by Captain Peter Dahl from Brevig; it was brought home to that city, but was shipwrecked soon after.

This in brief is what I recollect about that memorable emigrant voyage in 1854. I am now eighty-six years old and I suppose there are not many survivors of that large company, perhaps not any. But should these lines reach any of my sorely tried friends of 1854, I beg them to accept a warm greeting from an old man who can never forget how closely and intimately he became attached to them during those twelve weeks of companionship in suffering and patience.

REMINISCENCES OF A PIONEER EDITOR

By Carl Fredrik Solberg

Edited by Albert O. Barton

INTRODUCTION

Emigranten, the most important and for a time the only Norwegian newspaper in this country, had its origin in the log cabin of Gunder Springen in the town of Newark, Rock County, Wisconsin, in 1852. It may be said to have had a continuous existence since that time and to be now represented in the *Minneapolis Tidende*, one of the three great Norwegian papers of this country.

In a sense *Emigranten* grew out of *Nordlyset*, the first Norwegian newspaper in the United States, which first appeared in 1847. After that paper suspended publication in 1850, Knud Langland and his son-in-law, O. J. Hatlestad, bought the type and equipment of the old *Nordlyset* and attempted to start a small democratic paper in Racine. Later Langland removed to Janesville with part of the equipment and began printing the *Maanedstidende*. In 1851 his printing outfit was moved to Halvor Springen's cabin, near the Luther Valley Church. Reverend C. L. Clausen, pastor at Luther Valley, also urged the starting of a newspaper and on November 15, 1851, a meeting was held at the Luther Valley Church and "The Scandinavian Printing Association" was formed. Associated with Clausen were the Lutheran ministers, G. F. Dietrichson, H. A. Stub, and A. C. Preus, and also one John Holfeldt. Clausen was elected editor and on January 12, 1852, the first number of *Emigranten* appeared. As some of its founders desired that it should be a Whig organ and others that it should be Democratic, it was agreed that it should carry the old *Nordlyset* caption, "An Independent Democratic Paper." This it carried during its sixteen years of existence.

In its second number, issued on January 30, 1852, it was announced that it would be democratic in a broad sense and not in a partisan sense. In March, 1852, J. D. Reymert, former editor of *Nordlyset,* was elected foreman of the association and John Holfeldt bookkeeper and treasurer. On August 27, 1852, Clausen retired as editor and was succeeded by Carl Martin Riise, a Dane, (later Charles M. Reese and a major in the Fifteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry). Although Riise announced that he was a Free-soiler, the paper actively supported Franklin Pierce for president and opposed the election of General Winfield Scott as "dangerous." In its first year there was much discussion in *Emigranten* of Ole Bull, of Marcus Thrane, and of *Kirketidende,* published at Racine.

In 1853 the paper began appearing from the new printing plant which had been built. An attempt by Riise to obtain control of the paper led to his removal as editor and the election of Knud J. Fleischer. In June, 1854, the office was wrecked by a cyclone, and the paper was suspended until October, 1854, when it appeared as a Whig paper. It was now the only Norwegian newspaper in the field, several others having been started and suspended. With the organization of the Republican party, *Emigranten* took up the cause of the new party.

Carl Fredrik Solberg became connected with the paper in June, 1856, and eventually became its editor and publisher and conducted it through its period of greatest influence. In the latter part of 1856, it was removed to Janesville, and in May, 1857, to Madison, where it was published until its consolidation with *Fædrelandet* of La Crosse in 1868. In 1860 *Emigranten* absorbed *Nordstjernen,* which had been a rival publication in Madison for some years. Solberg served as editor of *Emigranten* from 1857 to 1868. He died in Milwaukee on September 14, 1924, the last of the pioneer Norwegian editors. The material that follows is a report of an

interview given by Solberg to the writer on July 25, 1919, at Milwaukee.

TEXT

I was born in Christiania, Norway, on June 8, 1833, and so am now eighty-six years old. When I was quite a young boy my father moved to Soro, Denmark, where he conducted a bakery, and where I attended a select school, which was a sort of Eton of the north at the time. It was a school for sons of the nobility and the rich, and had been endowed by Holberg, the great author, among others. It is said to have also been the school of Saxo Grammaticus in an earlier day. In this school, in addition to book studies, we were taught every accomplishment then thought necessary to a gentleman. We had our own botanical gardens, swimming and skating pools, riding grounds, and the like, and received instruction in music, horsemanship, dancing, and social deportment as well as intellectual training. We were also taught English, German, and French, and as I thus knew English before coming to America I had an advantage over many other immigrants.

My father not prospering in business, he resolved to emigrate to America and we came to New York in 1853. Ole Bull was then deep in his project of founding his Norwegian colony Oleana in Potter County, Pennsylvania, and he came to New York and engaged my father as a director of it. When we moved to Oleana I was wearing broadcloth and kid gloves. Most of the settlers were very poor and were then building small loghouses and trying to clear farms in the stony mountainsides of Ole Bull's ridiculous purchase. The colonists had a hard time of it. What induced Ole Bull to buy this miserable mountain tract when millions of fertile acres were to be had in the west it is hard to say, unless he had some fantastic idea that the settlers would feel more at home among mountains, as in their own native land. At any rate, he was shamelessly swindled and his dream of founding a little Norway in America was soon to fall through. The new Norway, as much as it could be called so, was to spring up in the West, beginning in Illinois and Wisconsin. Two or three

good-sized and more comfortable houses were built at Oleana, one being intended for Ole Bull when he should be there, and one for our family.

After I had been in Oleana a few days I found that my fine clothes were out of place. I couldn't wear polished shoes and kid gloves in a lumber camp and do anything. This gave me much anxiety, but after about three weeks I had my mind made up and went to my mother and told her that I was going to discard my broadcloth for a leather suit and logger's boots. She felt badly at this resolution, but there was nothing else to be done. Very soon I became a regular lumberjack and cut down trees and floated them down the rivers with the rest of the men and had my share of falls in the icy water.

As there was no way for the most of the settlers to make a living at Oleana, they had to go out to work in camps and factories and on distant farms of other settlers, and I soon decided to leave, too. I went about ninety miles down the river valley and obtained employment with a farmer named Goodman. When he learned that I was a newcomer and city-bred, he said good-naturedly, "Well, Fred, we'll try you first on splitting kindling and see how you get along," and he took me out to the woodpile and left me. After I had been working a while a servant girl came out of the house with two pails. These she threw at me and told me to bring her some water from the spring some distance below and went back into the house. I couldn't help smiling at myself. I had never been accustomed to such treatment. "You surely are a gentleman no longer," I thought, "to be cuffed around by a servant girl." After I had recovered from my astonishment, I brought her the water and was then ordered by her to bring in the wood. She gave me to understand that I was to wait on her. I got along well with my employer, however, and stayed with him a long time.

One of Ole Bull's secretaries at Oleana was Bertol W. Suckow, whom he had also engaged in New York and who was later to become a prominent book-binder in Madison and the publisher of *Billed-Magazin,* the first Norwegian magazine in America. After the failure of the Oleana colony, Suckow went back to New York and from there went west to Beloit, Wisconsin, where

he became the book-binder for the Norwegian press association which had been formed and which had set up a small printing plant at Inmansville in the Rock Prairie settlement.[1] This association, which had been started by the Norwegian ministers in Wisconsin, had begun publishing a newspaper called *Emigranten* some years before. The paper had never had a regular editor and was being got out by K. J. Fleischer at the time. The paper was in need of an editor and as Suckow knew that I had some education he urged the owners to try to engage me. I was induced to come west. I had been doing farm and other rough work all this time and had just about arranged to go with a party of four other young men on a long prospecting journey among the eastern mountains and was somewhat reluctant to give this up. We had expected to be away about three years. When I had finally agreed to change my plan, arrangements were made to have me conduct an immigrant family of one Jens Jacobsen on their way west, which I did. It took us a week to make the trip. Jacobsen in a few years was to lay down his life for his adopted country, being a volunteer in the Fifteenth Wisconsin in the Civil War. His daughter afterward married Charles Kittleson, who later became state treasurer of Minnesota.

[1] There was, strictly speaking, no village either at Inmansville or at the nearby Luther Valley church building group. Inmansville, now known as Fisher's Corner, was the post office of a large section of the Rock Prairie settlement in its pioneer days. It is situated one and one-half miles north of the Luther Valley Church, where the road running by the church and parsonage crosses the old military road, which is often spoken of as the old Madison road or the territorial road — now state highway no. 92. The junction is two and one-half miles southeast of Orfordville. Inman and Fisher were two farmers then living at this point and were related to one another. The post office was in Inman's house. Their lands formed, as it were, one large farm. They were of Pennsylvania German descent and since they were among the early settlers of Rock Prairie and were prominent in the new community they secured the post office and had dreams of founding a village there, to be known as Inmansville. Their hope was that a railroad would be built on the ridge followed by the military road, but nothing came of it, as in 1856 the railroad was built by way of Orfordville. Two beautiful farm homes, a schoolhouse, and a cheese factory now make up Fisher's Corner. The Norwegian printing office, where Reverend C. L. Clausen also had dreams of the coming of a railroad, is about a mile south of the old Inmansville post office.

When I came to Inmansville I stayed at Fleischer's house. There were only two or three houses at the place, so there was nothing thrilling about the life there, but I had good intellectual company. This was in the early part of 1856. I began work on my birthday, June 8, 1856. We also got out the church paper *Maanedstidende,* of which I was practically the editor for some time. In May, 1857, we moved our paper to Madison and then lively times began. The Republican Party had now come up and slavery had become the great issue. Our paper *Emigranten* called itself an independent democratic paper, but we were decidedly anti-slavery and republican in spirit. This was distasteful to some of the Democratic politicians, both inside and outside the nationality, and so the Scandinavian Democratic Press Association was organized by them and a rival paper started. Gabriel Bjørnson was made president and Carl M. Riise secretary of the association. Another incorporator was James Denoon Reymert, who in 1847 had founded *Nordlyset,* the first Norwegian paper in America. Reymert was an ambitious Democratic politician at that time. On June 10, 1857, the first number of the new paper appeared under the name of *Nordstjernen,* with Riise as editor. It declared itself a national Democratic paper, but was not able to make much headway among the Norwegians, who were fast going over to the Republican Party of freedom. When the *Emigranten* plant was moved to Madison I was made editor of the paper, and when the new Norwegian paper was started I became at once one of the targets of its abuse. We had it hot back and forth, but I felt that I had the better of it as our paper was on the right side of public questions. Our little controversies became so sharp that it was proposed among our friends that Riise (later spelled Reese) and I should hold a public joint debate. But after a while *Nordstjernen* began to lose its fire. Riise did not keep up his industry and interest and seemed to confine himself to attacks on me and our paper. About a year after the paper had been started it was sold to Hans Borchsenius, an educated young Dane, later to become a prominent citizen of Wisconsin, who had political ambitions at the time. The paper warfare then ceased and *Emigranten* devoted itself to broad discussions of the burning questions of the hour.

It was during my first year in Madison, 1857, that Ole Bull made his first visit to that city. Wisconsin at that time had the greater number of Norwegians then in America. He stayed a couple of days in Madison and gave two concerts in the Baptist church, about the first of July. I wonder if anyone else is left who heard him then? We entertained him as best we could and he did me the honor to visit me in my office on the third floor of our quarters at the corner of King and Webster streets, where *Emigranten* was then published. I remember when he came he took the stairs two at a bound.

In 1860 I formed the first merger in the history of the Norwegian-American press by buying *Emigranten* and *Nordstjernen* and consolidating them. Borchsenius had been elected to a county office and so could give no more time to the paper. When *Emigranten* was first brought to Madison, Fleischer was still connected with it, but soon afterward he dropped out and went into business and when I bought *Nordstjernen* the Scandinavian Democratic Press Association also dropped out of existence, so that during the first years of the Civil War *Emigranten* was practically the only Norwegian paper in this country. In 1864 the *Fædrelandet* was started at La Crosse and in 1866 John Anderson founded *Skandinaven* in Chicago. John Anderson, by the way, was a friend of mine and while he lived he regularly sent me his paper. L. S. Hanks went my security when I bought *Emigranten* for some three or four thousand dollars.

Although I was a comparatively young man while I was an editor in Madison, I had considerable influence. I had practically free entree to the governor's office in the capitol. In those days the governors felt that they belonged to the public and their offices were open, so that we could go in and out as we pleased and it was a sort of common visiting place.

I became well acquainted with Hans Heg, later colonel of the Fifteenth Wisconsin, who was afterward killed at Chickamauga. When he was a candidate for state prison commissioner in 1859, I circulated printed tickets for him at the state convention and thus helped much to bring about his nomination, I think, as printed tickets were not much used on such occasions then. After he became prison commissioner, I spent a week with him at

Waupun studying prison methods and practices, and wrote a series of articles on the prison and its administration by Heg which I published in *Emigranten*.[2]

At that time I was living at the Christiania House in Madison, as I was not yet married. One night after I had gone to bed and fallen asleep Mr. Heg came into my room and got in bed with me and woke me up. He said he had decided to enter the military service and had come to Madison for that purpose. We stayed awake the rest of the night talking over his plans of raising a Scandinavian regiment, concerning which he was very enthusiastic. I remember he said, "The men who conduct this war are going to be the men who will conduct affairs after it is over and if we are going to have any influence then we must get into the war now." He was shrewd enough to see the trend of things.

While still carrying on his duties at the state prison in 1861, Heg devoted a great deal of time to getting recruits for the Fifteenth Wisconsin, so that before the end of the year some six hundred volunteers were in barracks and receiving training at Camp Randall. One company, known as "St. Olaf's Rifles," came from Chicago. Another from Racine County (Heg's old home) was known as "The Norway Bear Hunters." Waupun sent a company, "The Wolf Hunters." Then there were the "Rock River Rangers," and "Wergeland Guards" of Dane County, and others. Many Norwegians had already enlisted in other regiments, more than enough to make a regiment, but Heg and others urged in the press that unless a distinctly Norwegian regiment were formed it would hardly be known that they were in the service.

They were also stirred into activity by the fact that a Scandinavian company had already been formed and mustered in and sent to the front with a New York regiment.[3] This company consisted of only eighty men, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, but it received considerable notice in the Norwegian press. It was organized by Captain P. Hans Balling, a Danish army officer who had served in the Danish war of 1848 before coming

[2] See *Emigranten*, August 3, 1861.

[3] See *Emigranten*, December 14, 1861.

to this country. In this connection I may here relate a bit of unpublished history. While Heg was busy organizing the Fifteenth Wisconsin it occurred to me, and to others, that we ought to have an experienced military officer in the regiment in case anything should happen to Colonel Heg. I knew Captain Balling in New York and opened a correspondence with him relative to his joining the Fifteenth Wisconsin. Everything seemed to be working out all right and he resigned his position to come west. Then for some reason there was some objection to his appointment here. I felt badly about it since he had lost his former position. Soon afterward he was made lieutenant colonel of a New York regiment, however, so he fared better than he would have here. He was also an artist and afterward returned to Denmark.

I opened the columns of *Emigranten* and helped Heg to organize his regiment. Because of my influence with the governor, I was also able to obtain a commission for my father in this regiment, although he was then living in Minnesota where he was one of the pioneer settlers of Freeborn County.[4] When the regiment went south I went with it to St. Louis and spent a while in the camp and field, sending home letters to my paper concerning the regiment and military matters generally.

I was on intimate terms with most of the Norwegian ministers at the time and was instrumental in getting the Lutheran congregation in Madison organized. In those days I used to walk up from Madison to the H. A. Preus parsonage at Spring Prairie, near Norway Grove to visit. If I came at night after they had all gone to bed, I would quietly enter the house and go to bed and surprise them next morning by appearing for breakfast. Being better read and educated than most of my countrymen except the ministers, I was perhaps more interesting company to such men and was welcomed by them. But I was not the best sort of mixer among my countrymen. Having learned English before coming over, I was a generation ahead of my Norwegian friends, so to speak, and so I associated more with

[4] An obituary account of Solberg's father is printed in the *Mankato Free Press* for December 30, 1907.

Americans than they did. For instance, I was well acquainted with the governors and other public men at the time. I was able to get bills through the legislature providing for publishing the governor's messages, the proceedings of the State Historical Society, and other things in Norwegian and thus added to the income of our paper. The translations were made by myself and other members of our staff there. The last year I was in Madison Knute Nelson, afterward United States Senator from Minnesota, was elected to the legislature from a Dane County district and introduced the bill for us. A considerable number of books and tracts of a religious character had already been printed at the Inmansville shop before I came there and this business we also continued after removing to Madison, publishing some very large works. Madison was enjoying an immense building boom when I first came there in the fifties and we shared in the general prosperity of the community and the state.

As the anti-slavery struggle grew in intensity we became more and more pro-abolition. In the election of 1860 we supported Lincoln and did our share toward carrying Wisconsin for him with such a remarkable showing. I may also say here too that when Lincoln was assassinated I was among the thousands who went to Chicago to see his funeral train and to pay our respects to his memory. It was an impressive occasion which I shall never forget.

As *Emigranten* was the only Norwegian newspaper of any consequence then published in this country, it was also largely used as an organ by the Lutheran ministers and at the opening of the Civil War they printed in its columns the resolutions they had adopted in conference in which they declared that while they were opposed to slavery and would work for its abolition, they could not find that it was condemned in Scripture, which led to a long controversy between Reverend C. L. Clausen and his colleagues.

Among the interesting figures of the time whom I recall was "Brick" Pomeroy, the La Crosse editor, later to become so famous. I used to meet him at state conventions in Madison and rather liked him personally although we occasionally exchanged editorial shots. An interesting local character was Captain Barns,

who ran the steamer "Scutanabequon" on Lake Monona and who had a lecture on the angleworm. He had a ready wit. One day he had to hold his boat for a certain lady. When she finally arrived he said as she entered the boat, "Here comes the late Mrs. Smith."

During the war I built up a circulation of nearly four thousand for *Emigranten*. After the war a new Norwegian paper called *Fædrelandet* was started at La Crosse by Frederick Fleischer and in 1868 I sold my paper to him. I went to La Crosse and stayed there for a while to assist in the consolidation of the two papers and thereafter I moved to St. Paul, where I established another Norwegian paper, the *Minnesotan*. Soon afterward I was appointed assistant secretary of state and state statistician. I then turned my paper over to my assistant, Hjalmar Eger, who not long afterward sold it. Since then I have been chiefly in railway office and insurance work, varied with a little travel in this country and abroad in recent years. For many years I have made my home in Milwaukee. Ten years ago Mrs. Solberg and I enjoyed a trip to Europe with our daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Frank A. Hall. We spent a pleasant summer abroad, chiefly at Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

By D. G. Ristad

The Norwegian people are a race whose vitality has been maintained undiminished through many centuries. One of the evidences of this native vitality is the surplus of energy which this people has thrown off in the form of emigrants to other lands. Where these emigrants have come to settle they have added new energies to the native stock of the races of which they have become a part. The drain upon the home population has continued with more or less intensity during Norway's entire history. There have been periods when the national vitality was lowered by various causes, — war, pestilence, and famine, for example, — but the recuperative energies of the people have asserted themselves, and usually after such periods the nation has soon had a surplus of population.

During the last hundred years, while more than a half million persons emigrated from Norway to the United States and Canada, and many thousands of Norwegians were in foreign service, the population in Norway increased rapidly and the physical health of the people maintained itself at a high standard. In the arts and sciences, also, in industry, commerce, politics, and education the people of the northern kingdom have shown a vitality that places them among the energetic peoples of the world today. While making history both in their own country and abroad, they have not neglected to take stock of their past and to interpret their record as a race and as a nation.

All this has tended to produce a marked racial consciousness among the people of Norway and their sons and daughters who have become citizens of other lands. Yet the Nor-

wegian people have shown, from ancient days to the present, a talent for adapting themselves to new conditions and new environments. Trained in democracy and freedom, they have been able to adjust themselves easily to the political, social, and industrial institutions of peoples whose conditions have been similar to their own. The transition to the American and Canadian environment has therefore been particularly smooth, for ideals, traditions, and aspirations have created an atmosphere genuinely homelike, while at the same time the immigrants from Norway have found a profitable outlet for their physical and intellectual energies. The removal from the Old to the New World was an act that may have been felt for a time as a shock, but it does not appear to have diminished the vigor of the people; rather it increased the vitality of their growth in the new soil. While adjusting themselves to the new environment, they have taken seriously their responsibility in the forming of the type of American racial individuality which is being produced out of composite elements; conscious of their backgrounds and origins, they have desired to give to the new nation the best elements in their nature and their cultural experience. Thus they have recognized an obligation both to the past and to their posterity.

From time to time Americans of Norwegian birth or descent have considered among themselves the desirability of establishing an historical agency which might collect and preserve records and objects that throw light upon the activities and backgrounds of this element in the American population. They have discussed the problem of setting up and maintaining a museum and a collection of manuscript and library materials, and they have wished to promote historical research within this special field. Much work in this sphere has indeed been done by individuals, denominational schools, and provincial and other societies, and a large amount of more or less cohesive material has been collected. But it was not until the Norse-American Centennial celebration in June, 1925, that a

plan for an historical organization of national scope took definite shape.

The idea of such a society was discussed earnestly as early as 1907 by the members of the Symra Society of Decorah, Iowa, in connection with the publication of the historical and literary periodical *Symra*, which had been founded two years earlier by Johannes Wist and others. It is not unlikely that in other parts of the country the need of an organization was also taken under consideration. In the fall of 1913 Mr. Torstein Jahr of Washington, D. C., on a lecture tour through the Northwest presented cogent reasons for the organization of an historical society, and also brought the matter to public attention through the press, but without tangible results.

A suggestion that a Norwegian-American historical society should be organized in connection with the centennial celebration was made public in the summer of 1924 by Mr. Carl L. Tellefsen of Washington, D. C., and considerable discussion of the matter appeared in the press. On October 21, 1924, Professor Gisle Bothne of the University of Minnesota and a number of other interested persons issued a joint call for a meeting to be held during the centennial celebration for the purpose of ascertaining the degree of interest that existed in favor of the organization of an historical society. In preparation for this meeting the subject was given considerable publicity and in the spring of 1925 a draft constitution was published in the Norwegian-American newspapers. The stress of affairs at the centennial celebration crowded out the proposed organization meeting, but a number of enthusiasts, who desired to take advantage of the foundations that had already been prepared, met in Decorah late in July, 1925, and concluded to make an effort to bring the society into existence. Fourteen men, at the outset, contributed each the sum of ten dollars, and Dr. Knut Gjerset, professor of history at Luther College, proceeded to reconnoiter the field. During the summer and fall he made a personal canvass, assisted by

Mr. Kristian Prestgard of Decorah and Professor O. E. Rölvaag of St. Olaf College, with the result that by October 1, 1925, more than a hundred persons had promised to become members of the projected association.

A call to meet at St. Olaf College, in Northfield, Minnesota, on October 6, 1925, met with a splendid response, and the Norwegian-American Historical Association was duly organized, temporary officers were elected, and a tentative constitution was adopted. The organization was completed, a charter adopted, and the association incorporated under the laws of the state of Minnesota at a meeting held in St. Paul on February 3, 1926. The growth in the membership of the association is evidenced by the membership list printed in the present volume.

The future activity and usefulness of the association will depend upon adequate funds, a systematic collection of records, and the coöperation of historical scholars — all backed by the active and general interest and support of the people at large.

The first step in the program is illustrated by the present volume of *Studies and Records*. As soon as the necessary funds permit, a quarterly magazine will be published; and it is the hope of the association that it will be in a position to bring before the public from time to time monographs dealing exhaustively with different subjects, to be written by competent scholars in the particular fields.

A volume, or several volumes, of translated "America letters" and pamphlets and books written by Norwegian immigrants and travelers in America will probably be brought out by the association, and it is also expected that the preparation of a series of bibliographies in the field of Norwegian-Americana will be undertaken.

The association will lend its efforts to the gathering of source material and will encourage its adequate care and preservation in designated repositories. It particularly wishes to secure diaries, account books, church records, letters, proceed-

ings of societies, and other materials that throw light on the life, character, and achievements of the Norwegian people in America. The association will also help to maintain and to develop the Norwegian-American Historical Museum at Luther College, Decorah, by assisting in its collection of objects of home industry and art in its special field.

The Norwegian-American Historical Association desires to coöperate with all organizations that touch, in their activities, the broad field that the association seeks to cultivate — the Norwegian element both in its relations to its racial source and its special historical and cultural backgrounds and in its relations to the history and culture of the American people, of which it has gradually been becoming an integrant part.

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The undersigned, Knut Gjerset, Birger Osland, and O. E. Rölvaag, having associated to form a corporation under the laws of Minnesota, 1923, section 7,892, do hereby certify:

I

The name of the corporation shall be the Norwegian-American Historical Association.

II

Its general purpose shall be to seek and gather information about the people in the United States of Norwegian birth and descent and to preserve the same in appropriate forms as historic records.

III

Its general plan of operation shall be to obtain by gift and from membership contributions the funds required for:

1. Helping to maintain and develop Norwegian-American historical archives at such places or institutions as in the judgment of the executive board shall be found to be advantageous and desirable;
2. Helping to maintain and develop the Norwegian-American museum at Decorah, Iowa, known as the "Norwegian-American Historical Museum";
3. Encouraging and promoting Norwegian-American historical research and literary work;
4. Publishing monographs and other works dealing with Norwegian-American history, literature, art, and culture; and
5. Publishing a periodical devoted to Norwegian-American history, literature, and culture.

IV

The location and principal place at which the Association shall transact its affairs shall be the city of Minneapolis, in the state of Minnesota.

V

The Association shall have three classes of members: associate members, sustaining members, and life members. Each member, regardless of class, shall have one vote at all general and special meetings of the Association. Any person over eighteen years of age may become a member upon written application to the financial secretary stating name, address, and occupation, and paying to the secretary an admission fee, which is to be two dollars for associate members, ten dollars for sustaining members, and one hundred dollars for life members. The associate members shall pay an annual due of two dollars and the sustaining members an annual due of ten dollars after the year in which the admission fee is paid. Life members shall be subject to no dues or charges except the admission fee.

VI

The officers of the Association shall be a president, a general vice president, a secretary, and a treasurer, who shall be elected at a meeting of the members, which is to be held every third year at said city of Minneapolis on the first Tuesday in January or on the day following in case the first Tuesday in January is New Year's day,— the first meeting to be on the first Tuesday in the year 1927. Said officers shall be so elected and hold office for a term of three years. At the time and place of their election, said officers shall appoint three members of the Association to serve with them for a period of three years, who, together with said officers, shall constitute and be designated the executive board of the Association and have the general management of its affairs. At the close of the triennial meeting of the members and at the place of such meeting, the executive board shall appoint, for a term of three years, a board of finance, which is to consist of five or more members of the Association, of which board the treasurer

of the Association shall be a member *ex officio*. Of the members of this board of finance, one shall be designated assistant treasurer and he shall function in the place of the treasurer elected by the members when for any reason the latter is unable to act. It shall be the duty of the board of finance to devise ways and means for obtaining funds needed by the Association. The executive board, at the time and place of the election and appointment of the members thereof, shall also appoint for a term of three years a board of editors from among the members of the Association, to consist of three or more persons, one of whom is to be designated and is to act as managing editor. This board shall edit and publish all the publications of the Association which previously have been authorized by the executive board. The executive board may fill any vacancy on its board and on the board of finance and the board of editors.

VII

The officers and other members of the executive board and of the board of finance and of the board of editors, who are to conduct the transactions of the Association until the first meeting of the members of the Association, are the following in number and by name, each holding the office set opposite his name, to wit:

Executive Board: Ditleff G. Ristad, president; Laurence M. Larsen, general vice president; O. E. Rölvaag, secretary; Ole M. Oleson, treasurer; Birger Osland; A. C. Floan; Knut Gjerset.

Board of Finance: Ole M. Oleson, *ex officio;* Birger Osland, assistant treasurer; T. Stabo; J. Jörgen Thompson; A. C. Floan.

Board of Editors: Theodore C. Blegen, managing editor; Kristian Prestgard; Knut Gjerset.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this 4th day of February, 1926.

Executed in duplicate.

KNUT GJERSET
BIRGER OSLAND
O. E. RÖLVAAG

In presence of
A. UELAND
MAUD GOLDSBURY

State of Minnesota
County of Hennepin ss

On this 4th day of February, 1926, before me personally appeared Knut Gjerset, Birger Osland, and O. E. Rölvaag, to me known to be the persons described in and who executed the foregoing instrument, and each acknowledged that he executed the same as his free act and deed.

MAUD GOLDSBURY
Notary Public, Hennepin County, Minnesota
My commission expires Dec. 14, 1929.

[Notarial seal.]

BY-LAWS OF HTE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

I. Admission to Membership

All applications for membership shall be made in writing to the financial secretary of the Association. Such application shall show the name, address, and occupation of the applicant.

II. Dues

Associate members shall pay an annual fee of two dollars; sustaining members shall pay an annual fee of ten dollars; and life members shall pay, once for all, a minimum fee of one hundred dollars. Life membership fees shall be set aside as a permanent fund.

III. Privileges of Members

Associate members shall receive all minor publications of the Association, provided, however, that if the Association shall publish a periodical, such periodical only shall be sent without cost to associate members. Sustaining and life members shall receive all the publications of the Association without cost.

IV. Termination of Membership

Any member failing to pay his dues within six months after the termination of the year for which they are due, and after due notice from the financial secretary, shall cease to be a member.

V. Duties of Members

1. Change of Address. All members shall notify the financial secretary in writing of any change of address, and by failure to do so shall be deemed to have waived their rights to any notice or publication, as provided by the constitution and by-laws of this Association.

2. The financial secretary shall, on payment of dues, furnish receipt indicating term for which dues have been paid.

VI. Duties of Officers

1. The president shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of its executive board. He shall be advisory member of all boards and committees and shall have general supervision of the affairs of the Association. The president shall, with the treasurer, sign all written contracts and obligations of the Association, which shall have been approved by the executive board. He shall, with the advice and concurrence of the executive board, initiate such activities as will advance the objects of the Association, as defined in its constitution. All proposals and suggestions submitted to the Association shall be laid by him before the executive board for its consideration and decision. He shall approve in writing all bills to be paid by the treasurer.

2. The general vice president shall perform the duties of the president in case of the latter's absence, resignation, or inability to act, until a new president shall have been elected.

3. In case of the death, resignation, or inability to act, of both president and general vice president, the executive board shall promptly designate one of the regional vice presidents to act as general vice president.

4. The secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall keep a written record of all official proceedings of the Association and of the executive board. He shall issue notices of elections and meetings, and shall be custodian of and responsible for the archives of the Association.

5. The financial secretary shall receive all dues, keep an accurate record of all moneys received, and deposit same monthly with the treasurer. He shall keep a correct record of the payment of dues and issue receipts therefor. He shall report annually to the executive board the names of all members who are in arrears, with the amounts due. If deemed expedient by the executive board, he shall be placed under bonds in such sum and in such surety company as may be determined by the executive board, the cost of the bond to be borne by the Association.

6. The treasurer shall keep an accurate record of all receipts and disbursements. He shall receive from the financial secretary all moneys collected and deposit same in the name of the Association in a bank approved by said board. He shall make all disbursements, but no payment shall be made by him of any bills unless approved in writing by the president. He shall have charge of all funds and shall see to it that they are properly invested in interest bearing securities. All funds so invested by him shall be placed in such first mortgages or first mortgage bonds as may be approved by the various states as legal investment for trust funds. He shall make an annual report in writing to the board of finance of all receipts and disbursements for the preceding calendar year, together with a detailed statement of funds invested. The executive board shall require the treasurer to give bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties, in such amount and with such surety company as may be approved by the board, the cost of the bond to be borne by the Association.

VII. Auditing Committee

The executive board shall each year appoint an auditing committee, or engage certified public accountants, to examine and check up the accounts and books of the treasurer and the financial secretary, and report thereon to the president, who shall submit such reports to the executive board as soon as practicable.

VIII. Advisory Board

There shall be appointed by the executive board regional vice presidents of the Association, in such numbers and locations as may be found advantageous and desirable. The regional vice presidents shall constitute an advisory board to assist in promoting the interests of the Association. The regional vice presidents shall serve for a period of three years.

IX. Regional Organizations

The formation of regional organizations for the more convenient promotion of the objects of the Association, as defined in its constitution and by-laws, may be authorized by the executive

board, on application from a regional vice president, who shall serve as president of such organization. The constitution and by-laws of such regional organizations shall be approved by the executive board.

X. Amendments

These by-laws may be amended by the members of the Association by a two-thirds majority of the members voting. Such amendments may be proposed by not less than twenty members of the Association, whose names shall appear in the notice, or by the executive board itself.

OFFICERS

Executive Board

D. G. Ristad, Manitowoc, Wisconsin, *President*
Laurence M. Larsen, Urbana, Illinois, *Vice President*
O. E. Rølvaag, Northfield, Minnesota, *Secretary*
O. M. Oleson, Fort Dodge, Iowa, *Treasurer*
Birger Osland, Chicago, Illinois, *Assistant Treasurer*
A. C. Floan, St. Paul, Minnesota
Knut Gjerset, Decorah, Iowa

Board of Finance

O. M. Oleson, Fort Dodge, Iowa
Birger Osland, Chicago, Illinois
T. Stabo, Decorah, Iowa
A. C. Floan, St. Paul, Minnesota
J. Jörgen Thompson, Northfield, Minnesota, *Financial Secretary*

Board of Editors

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Anderson, A. J., 3544 Sixteenth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Anderson, E. B., Northfield, Minn.
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Anderson, Mrs. Martha, 419 North Prairie St., Stoughton, Wis.
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Andresen, K. R., 514 East Fourteenth St., Minneapolis, Minn.
Arctander, Ludvig, 425 New York Life Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
**Arnesen, S. J., 4808 Fourth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ascham, C. M., Bemidji, Minn.
Askeland, H., 3600 Portland Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Axelsen, Louis A., 465 Mineral St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Back, Guri, 2425 Solway, Sioux City, Iowa
*Bagge, Chr. U., 2325 North Sawyer Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bakke, Andrew, Arthyde, Minn.
Bakke, John, Granite Falls, Minn.
Bakke, Th. M., Thorsby, Ala.
Barton, Albert O., 1914 Madison St., Madison, Wis.
*Bassoe, Peter, 1031 Michigan Ave., Evanston, Ill.
*Bauer, Carl, 3601 North Harding Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Belgum, Henrik O., Elbow Lake, Minn.
*Benson, John, c/o *Skandinaven*, Chicago, Ill.
Benson, William, 807 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
*Berdahl, Andrew J., 616 South Duluth Ave., Sioux Falls, S. D.
Berdahl, Clarence A., 319 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Berdahl, E. J., Garretson, S. D.
Berg, George B., Fertile, Minn.

Berg, George O., Northfield, Minn.
Bergesen, B. E., 2519 Lyndale Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn.
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Bergh, J. A., 1383 Grantham St., St. Paul, Minn.
Bernhart, P., 114 North Phillips Ave., Sioux Falls, S. D.
Bernts, Olaf, Consulate of Norway, Chicago, Ill.
Bestul, C. B., Ettrick, Wis.
Biorn, C. H., 308 Globe Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
Biorn, Emil, 2618 North Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bjelde, P. A., La Center, Wash.
*Bjorhus, John, c/o *Minneapolis Tidende*, Minneapolis, Minn.
Blegen, Allen R., Decorah, Iowa
Blegen, J., 3600 Ward St., Chicago, Ill.
Blegen, John H., 1827 Thirteenth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Blegen, Theodore C., 1757 West Minnehaha St., St. Paul, Minn.
*Blessum, Ben, 342 Madison Ave., New York City, N. Y.
*Bockman, Marcus O., 1415 West Grantham St., St. Paul, Minn.
*Boe, Lars W., Northfield, Minn.
*Boe, O., Decorah, Iowa
Bothne, Gisle, 619 Ninth Ave. S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Brandrud, O. T., 823 Athens Ave., Oakland, Cal.
*Brandt, Christian, Decorah, Iowa
Brandt, Margrete D., Decorah, Iowa
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*Bugge, S. B., Tomahawk, Wis.
Byholt, Martha, Starbuck, Minn.
**Cappelen Smith, E. A., 120 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.
Carlson, B. E., 44 Brookford St., Roxbury, Mass.
Carlson, John, 503 Scott St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Carlson, Lawrence M., 695 East Fourth St., St. Paul, Minn.
*Chorlog, John K., Madison, Wis.
Christensen, Mrs. Christine, 100 South Prairie St., Whitewater, Wis.
Clausen, Clarence, Northfield, Minn.
Cornelius, Casper, 2934 Colfax Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Dahlen, Andrew, 1434 Stanford Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Dale, Herman F., Decorah, Iowa

Daley, K. S., Galesville, Wis.
*Dalldorf, E. W., 1848 Selby Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Danielson, P. C., Madelia, Minn.
Dieserud, Juul, c/o Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Dorrum, I., Decorah, Iowa
Drage, J. L., Henning, Minn.
*Drotning, Anna, Northfield, Minn.
Eastvold, C. J., 908 West Second Street, Northfield, Minn.
Ebert, Theodore, 830 Diversey Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Eckers, H. A., 3856 Grand Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Egge, Adolph, Hoople, N. D.
Eggen, Th., 1254 McKnight Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Eide, Odd, Fertile, Minn.
Eide, T. A., 3943 Elliot Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Eidem, S. S., Canton, S. D.
Eidness, John, East Stanwood, Wash.
Eikeland, P. J., Northfield, Minn.
*Eikenes, H. D., Overly, N. D.
Einhaug, Alfred, 1413 Edmund St., St. Paul, Minn.
Eittreim, K. O., Decorah, Iowa.
*Ekern, Herman L., Madison, Wis.
Ellingson, George H., Northfield, Minn.
Ellingson, Herman, Decorah, Iowa
Elveström, Victor, Decorah, Iowa
Endrea, Mathilde Thomas, 4556 South Michigan Ave, Chicago, Ill.
Enestvedt, O. O., R. 1, Sacred Heart, Minn.
Enger, L., 1634 Farwell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Engstrom, O. P. J., Pierre, S. D.
Engum, H. G., 803 North Main St., Rice Lake, Wis.
Erickson, J. E., c/o State House, Helena, Mont.
*Estrem, Joseph, 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Evans, Rudolph O., International Falls, Minn.
*Evenson, C. W., Decorah, Iowa
Evenson, Emil, Spring Grove, Minn.
Evenson, Oscar, R. 2, Stewartville, Minn.
Faleide, I. H., 831 North Edmond Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Farseth, Elisa Pauline, 4024 Elliot Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Fay, Hans, 115 Broad St., New York, N. Y.
*Fedt, Lars, 958 Blaine St., Los Angeles, Cal.
*Felland, O. G., Northfield, Minn.
Ferguson, Oliver C., Elbow Lake, Minn.
Field, L. N., Williston, N. D.
Figved, E. Nyman, 526 Talbot Ave., Boston, Mass.
Fjeldsaa, Mrs. Ruth L., 393 South Grove St., Freeport, N. Y.
Fjeldstad, C. Alford, 1815 Thirteenth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.

**Floan, A. C., 442 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Flom, George T., 611 West Green St., Urbana, Ill.
Flom, H. H., Wesley, Iowa
Fosmark, Melvin B., Morrisonville, Wis.
*Fosnes, Walter, 1115 Merchants National Bank Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
*Foss, H. A., 336 Fourth Ave. N. W., Minot, N. D.
Foss, Lars, Driscoll, N. D.
Fossum, Peter, Northfield, Minn.
Froiland, G. S., Dawson, Minn.
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*Garborg, Abel, Conway, Wash.
*Garnaas, L. B., Sheyenne, N. D.
Giere, Nils, Sacred Heart, Minn.
Gilbert, Gustav, 705 North Stoneman Ave., Alhambra, Cal.
Gjernes, K. O., Forman, N. D.
Gjerset, Albert, 3041 Twelfth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Gjerset, Knut, Decorah, Iowa
Gjerset, Maurice J., 421 Surf St., Chicago, Ill.
*Gjerset, Oluf, Montevideo, Minn.
Glesne, O., Decorah, Iowa
Glomseth, L. J., Carbury, N. D.
Goplen, Ole O., Audubon, Minn.
*Goplerud, L. C., 435 North Water St., Silverton, Ore.
*Granskou, Johannes, R. 3, Lake Mills, Iowa.
Gravdal, Sister Mathilde, Norwegian Lutheran Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Grinde, O. B., Madison, Wis.
*Grindeland, A., Warren, Minn.
Grondahl, L. O., 7150 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gronlid, H. O., Bagley, Saskatchewan, Can.
Grose, I. F., 911 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
Grotnes, Alice L., 2111 West Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
Grove, H. G., 1398 Breda St., St. Paul, Minn.
Gulbrandsen, Esther, Northfield, Minn.
*Gulbrandsen, Thorvald, c/o *Minneapolis Tidende*, Minneapolis, Minn.
Gullickson, Ludvig, 610 Hamm Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
Gunnarson, Theodore A., Veblen, S. D.
Gunsten, Gustav, Clermont, Iowa
Haagenson, H. T., Seneca, Ill.
Haaland, O. T., Bricelyn, Minn.
Hagen, Karl O., Decorah, Iowa
Hagen, Martin S., Bismarck, N. D.
Hall, J. O., 4506 Fremont Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Hall, Reinhard, 7822 Twelfth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

HALSETH, JAMES, 2440 North Monticello Ave., Chicago, Ill.
HALSETH, JEANETTE S., 2440 North Monticello Ave., Chicago, Ill.
**HALVORSON, OLAF, 401 Marconi St., Huntington Park, Cal.
HALVORSON, VICTOR D., Joice, Iowa
HAMMER, L. F., Viroqua, Wis.
*HANSEN, CARL G. O., 3957 Twelfth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
HANSEN, EDWARD, 2741 West North Ave., Chicago, Ill.
HANSEN, J. C. M., 5227 Ingleside Ave., Chicago, Ill.
HANSEN, MRS. T. FJELDE, 3008 Park Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
*HANSON, BORGER, Decorah, Iowa
HANSON, PETER, Sanborn, N. D.
HATLEN, K. G., Sioux Rapids, Iowa
HATLESTAD, S., R. 3, Norway Lake, Minn.
HAUG, MORRIS, 546 Sixty-Third Ave., West Allis, Wis.
HAUGAN, B. B., 519 South Spring Ave., Sioux Falls, S. D.
*HAUGAN, HENRY A., 2600 Lakeview Ave., Chicago, Ill.
*HAUGAN, OSCAR H., 133 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
*HAUGE, I. J., Blackduck, Minn.
*HAUGEN, DONALD, Decorah, Iowa
HAUGEN, EINAR, 1315 Cornelia St., Sioux City, Iowa
HAUGEN, G. N., Northwood, Iowa
HAUGEN, GILBERT, Bismarck, N. D.
*HAUGEN, J. E., St. Paul Hospital, St. Paul, Minn.
*HAUGEN, K. I., Decorah, Iowa
HAUGEN, NILS, 752 East Gorham St., Madison, Wis.
HOUKOM, JOHN A., Blanchardville, Wis.
HEGG, G., NOME, N. D.
HEGLAND, MARTIN, 1114 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
HEIDENREICH, E. LEE, 618 Kansas City Life Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
HEIMDAHL, O. E., Fir, Wash.
*HEITMANN, JOHN, 703 Torrey Bldg., Duluth, Minn.
**HEKTOEN, LUDVIG, 637 South Wood St., Chicago, Ill.
*HELLAND, ANDREAS, 3315 Sixteenth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
HELTNE, CHRISTEN, Locust, Iowa
HENDRICKSON, EDWIN, Decorah, Iowa
HENDRICKSON, H. O., Humboldt, Iowa
HERRE, J. C., 1044 Seventy-third St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
HERREID, LESLIE, Galesville, Wis.
HERTSGAARD, J. P., Madison, Minn.
HESTENES, J. N., Waterford, Wis.
HETLE, ERIK, 307 Manitou St., Northfield, Minn.
HEXOM, JOHN, Decorah, Iowa
*HILLEBOE, GERTRUDE, Northfield, Minn.
HJELMESETH, EILERT, 368 North Hamlin St., Chicago, Ill.
HJERLEID, H. C., Decorah, Iowa

Hjortaas, H. Chr. G., 3137 Clinton Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
**Hobe, E. H., Consulate of Norway, St. Paul, Minn.
Hodnefield, Jacob, 558 Capitol Blvd., St. Paul, Minn.
*Hoel, C. S. B., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Hoel, Walter M., Decorah, Iowa
*Hoff, J. Haakon, 1331 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Högvold, Torgeir T., 501 Queen Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn.
Hoidale, Einar, 1054 McKnight Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Holand, Hjalmar Rued, Ephraim, Wis.
*Holland, P. O., 1204 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
*Holmboe, L., 2034 East Seventy-second St., Chicago, Ill.
Holstad, S. H., 601 Fourth St. N., Minneapolis, Minn.
Holte, Halvor, Crookston, Minn.
*Holvik, J. A., 709 Sixth St. S., Moorhead, Minn.
Homnes, Mrs. Frida Bue, Crosby, N. D.
Homnes, George P., Crosby, N. D.
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Hoseid, Thor, Beldenville, Wis.
*Hougen, Albert L., Manitowoc, Wis.
Houkom, Alf, Boyd, Minn.
Hovde, Brynjolf J., 449 East Henry St., Meadville, Pa.
*Hovland, J. P., Belden Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
*Howard, Hans L., 134 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
*Hummeland, Andrew, 10 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Hunder, Marcus B., Stoddard, Wis.
Hustvedt, S. B., 1947 Ivar Ave., Hollywood, Cal.
*Ingvoldstad, W. B., Decorah, Iowa
Isolany, G. N., Presho, S. D.
Istad, A. T., Decorah, Iowa
*Iversen, Iver, 559 East Thirty-fourth St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Iverson, M., Stoughton, Wis.
*Jacobsen, Anna, 617 Fountain Ave., Springfield, Ohio
Jacobson, Clara, Bruce, S. D.
Jacobson, J. N., Hills, Minn.
*Jacobson, Karl T., Decorah, Iowa
*Jacobson, O. P. B., 3700 Park Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Jahr, Torstein, c/o Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Jahren, H. C. M., Grand Meadow, Minn.
*Jervell, Hans, 511 North Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.
*Joergenson, G. B., R. 1, East Stanwood, Wash.
*Johnshoy, M. Casper, Starbuck, Minn.
*Johnson, Arthur Louis, 724 Linden Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
*Johnson, Carl A., 142 East Gilman St., Madison, Wis.
Johnson, Charles C., Decorah, Iowa

Johnson, D. H., Crosby, N. D.
Johnson, Gustav, Decorah, Iowa
*Johnson, Henry J., 118 North La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
*Johnson, Hobart S., 130 East Gorham St., Madison, Wis.
Johnson, Horace O., 624 Johnson St., LaCrosse, Wis.
Johnson, J. A., 810 South Eighth St., Manitowoc, Wis.
Johnson, Jens, 3041 Oakland Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Johnson, Joseph F., 4401 West North St., Chicago, Ill.
*Johnson, Nils J., 4448 North Sacramento Ave., Chicago, Ill.
*Johnson, Olaf B., 4401 West North Ave., Chicago, Ill.
*Johnson, Olaf H., Madison, Wis.
*Johnson, W. O., 1046 West Thirty-eighth St., Chicago, Ill.
*Jordahl, D. C., Ridgeway, Iowa
Jorgenson, J. E., Decorah, Iowa
Jorgenson, Theodore, Northfield, Minn.
Jössendal, Johs., Locust, Iowa
*Jullum, Th., 25 Beaver St., New York City, New York
Kallerud, Alf., R. 5, West Allis, Wis.
*Kavli, Fredrick, 1806 Sixteenth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Kiland, Gustave H., 832 Jenifer St., Madison, Wis.
Kildahl, H. B., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Kindley, Ole, 1472 Raymond Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Klagstad, Aug., 305 West Broadway, Minneapolis, Minn.
Kleppe, K. A., Decorah, Iowa
Knaplund, Paul, Madison, Wis.
*Knudsen, K. Hv., 104 John St., New York City, N. Y.
Knudson, Millard J., Decorah, Iowa
Knutson, Gerhardt E., Belview, Minn.
*Knutson, Harold, St. Cloud, Minn.
Kolden, F. L., Blackduck, Minn.
*Kolset, Carl D., Sanborn, Minn.
*Kolseth, O. H., 236 South Washington St., Hinsdale, Ill.
*Koren, Paul, Decorah, Iowa
**Krabol, O. O., 1746 North Maplewood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Krohn, Fredrik, 408 Erie St., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Kvale, O. J., House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
*Kvamme, Kristian, Ossian, Iowa
Kvamme, Torstein, Ossian, Iowa
Kvammen, M. A., Decorah, Iowa
Langaunet, H. J., Sheho, Saskatchewan, Can.
Langbach, Peder, 353 Thirteenth Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
*Langland, P., 331 Grove St., Milwaukee, Wis.
*Larsen, Charles E., 740 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Larsen, G. A., Rugby, N. D.
*Larsen, Henning, Iowa City, Iowa

*Larsen, Karen, 914 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
*Larsen, Laurence M., Urbana, Ill.
*Larson, A. L., R. 1, Burbank, S. D.
Larson, Clarion, Roland, Iowa
Larson, Swend, Rothsay, Minn.
Lavik, R., Milnor, N. D.
Lee, Agrim, Decorah, Iowa
Lee, Edward J., 822 Lumber Exchange Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Lee, G. T., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Lee, J. H., Madison, Wis.
Lee, John J., Lake Park, Minn.
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Lee, Olav, 1115 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
*Leivestad, R., 1008 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
*Lerche, William, 1039 Lowry Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
Lillehei, T. Aug., Wittenberg, Wis.
*Linnevold, William, Decorah, Iowa
Lofthus, O. E., Adams, N. D.
Loftsgorden, Henry, 705 Atwood Ave., Madison, Wis.
Löhre, N. J., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Lokensgaard, O., Hanley Falls, Minn.
Lucky, Carl E., Decorah, Iowa
*Lund, Gunnar, 923 Seabord Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
Lund, J. E., Kennewick, Wash.
Lund, L. H., 2218 North California Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Lundeberg, K. O., 712 West Third St., Northfield, Minn.
Lundtvedt, G. G., Decorah, Iowa
Luther, Martin, 1059 Eighty-third St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Lyng, John, 5349 Lyndale Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Lysnes, Olaf, Clinton, Wis.
Madson, Laura, c/o Fairview Hospital, Minneapolis, Minn.
*Magelssen, Finn, R. 1, Albert Lea, Minn.
*Malmin, Gunnar, Story City, Iowa
Malmin, Olaf, 1535 Branston St., St. Paul, Minn.
*Malmin, Rasmus, 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Markhus, W. T., 212 Walnut St. S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Marvick, Louis S., 1314 Addington Road, Toledo, Ohio
Mason, John M., 214 South Fifth St., Montevideo, Minn.
Mathiesen, M., Henry, S. D.
Mattson, Johan, 1511 East Thirty-fifth St., Minneapolis, Minn
Meland, R. J., 2408 Aldrich Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Mellby, C. A., 1118 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
Meyer, Olaf O., Bisbee, N. D.
*Michaelsen, M. A., 3022 Palmer Square, Chicago, Ill.
Michelson, Albert G., Madison, Wis.

Minne, N. M., 1202 Spies Ave., Menominee, Mich.
Moe, Jens, 1030 North Lawnsdale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
*Moe, L. A., Decorah, Iowa
Moe, Math., Decorah, Iowa.
Moe, Mathias, 305 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Moe, Sofus, Dallas, Wis.
Moe, Torjus, Paulus Plass 5, Oslo, Norway
Mogan, S. G., 4454 Cloverdale St., Seattle, Wash.
*Mork, O., Blair, Wis.
Mortrud, H. G., 1121½ South Serrano Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
Möst, S. O., Rollag, Minn.
*Musaus, John, 1230 Fifty-seventh St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Myhr, A. F., 110 St. James Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Myhre, O. O., 61 Cambridge Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
*Myrland, A. J., c/o State Capitol, Madison, Wis.
*Nelsen, K. G., Osage, Iowa.
*Nelson, David T., Decorah, Iowa
Nelson, J. A., Decorah, Iowa
*Nelson, Nelson B., 85 Buckingham Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
*Nelson, Oley, Slater, Iowa
Nelson, Samuel A., 735 Plymouth Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Nervig, Casper B., 416 Fourth Ave. N. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Nesheim, A. H., 1068 Granville Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Ness, Johannes T., Carterville, Mont.
Nestos, R. A., Minot, N. D.
*Nilsen, Jacob, 140 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Nissen, Henrik, 823 Masonic Temple, Minneapolis, Minn.
Norbeck, Peter, Redfield, S. D.
*Nordahl, Adolph H., 719 Waveland Ave., Chicago, Ill.
*Nordby, Harold I., 2108 Washington Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn.
Nordby, Ida A., Hanley Falls, Minn.
Nordby, Ole J., 3336 Thirty-third Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Nordlie, Herman C., 503 Sixth St. S., Moorhead, Minn.
*Norlie, O. M., Decorah, Iowa
*Normann, H. W., Cresco, Iowa
Normann, O. A., Ashby, Minn.
Norstog, Mrs. Inga, Manitowoc, Wis.
Norstog, John, Manitowoc, Wis.
Norstrand, H. P. G., Plattsburg, N. Y.
Oas, Peter M., Blackduck, Minn.
Odegaard, A. O., Blackduck, Minn.
*Oftedahl, Hans L., 4956 Ferdinand St., Chicago, Ill.
Oftedal, Mrs. E. L., Cottonwood, Minn.
Oftelie, Torkel, Fergus Falls, Minn.
Oglaend, Jonas B., 578 Sixty-first St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Oien, F. C., 1918 North Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill.
**Oleson, O. M., Fort Dodge, Iowa
*Olsen, Christ, 3733 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Olsen, Nils A., c/o Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
Olson, Grant, Coon Valley, Wis.
*Olson, Julius E., 1909 Adams St., Madison, Wis.
*Olson, Oscar L., Decorah, Iowa
Olson, Torger, Stoddard, Wis.
Oppen, Gilbert, Lake Crystal, Minn.
*Ordal, Z. J., R. 1, River Falls, Wis.
*Ornes, John M., 101 Sixth St. N., Minneapolis, Minn.
**Osland, Birger, 108 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Otterness, O. J., 619 Tenth St., Brookings, S. D.
Oyan, E. J., Baltic, S. D.
**Paasche, J. A., 1909 Diversey Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Paulson, Arthur C., Forest City, Iowa
Pederson, Bernie, Clifton, Texas.
*Pederson, J. M., 3042 Armitage Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Peterson, Albert, 19 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Peterson, Hamlet, Decorah, Iowa
Peterson, H. J., Mobridge, S. D.
Peterson, Henry C., Decorah, Iowa
Peterson, Henry J., Laramie, Wyoming.
Peterson, James A., 640 Security Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Peterson, P. D., 411 Putnam St., Eau Claire, Wis.
Pettersen, Wilhelm, 2902 Irving Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Pihlfeldt, Thos. G., 4707 Dover St., Chicago, Ill.
*Prestgard, Kristian, Decorah, Iowa
Preus, Mrs. C. K., 60 Seymour Ave. S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Preus, Herman A., 60 Seymour Ave. S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Preus, J. C. K., Byron, Minn.
*Preus, Jacob A. O., Chicago, Ill.
Preus, O. J. H., De Forest, Wis.
*Qualley, Orlando, Decorah, Iowa
Quam, J. A., Sheridan, Ill.
Quamme, E. G., 1556 Fairmount Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
*Rasmussen, Ingeborg, 511 North Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.
*Rasmussen, Mathilde, 828 South Sixth St., Minneapolis, Minn.
Ravndal, Eric, Decorah, Iowa
**Ray, Olaf E., 30 North Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Reindal, Knute, R. 3, Madison, Wis.
*Remmen, N. E., 2954 Logan Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Reque, Anna C., 25 West Forty-fifth St., New York City, N. Y.
Reque, J. L., 4032 North Keeler Ave., Chicago, Ill.
*Reque, Sigurd S., Decorah, Iowa.

Ringdahl, Olive, R. 3, Zumbrota, Minn.
Ringstad, Mrs. Aagot, Northfield, Minn.
*Ristad, D. G., 711 North Ninth St., Manitowoc, Wis.
*Roddis, Louis H., 1439 Grantham Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Roe, Edwin B., Stanley, Wis.
*Roe, Herman, Northfield, Minn.
Rohn, Ole H., Decorah, Iowa
*Rohne, J. Magnus, Decorah, Iowa
Rollevson, O. J., 2123 South L St., Tacoma, Wash.
*Rölvaag, O. E., 311 Manitou St., Northfield, Minn.
Romstad, Mrs. Sophie, Northfield, Minn.
*Rönning, N. N., 3444 Portland Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Rörstad, Thomas, Milan, Minn.
*Roseland, Jens C., 4238 Parkside Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rosenquist, H., Lake Mills, Iowa.
Rovelstad, A. M., Decorah, Iowa
*Rowberg, A. A., Northfield, Minn.
*Ruud, Bernhard, 2942 Palmer Square, Chicago, Ill.
*Rydjord, Olaf, East Stanwood, Wash.
*Rygg, A. N., 4423 Third Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Sageng, Ole, 610 Hamm Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
Sand, Oliver C., Ossian, Iowa
*Sanderson, Tollef, Harmony, Minn.
Satrang, A. O., 4436 North Whipple St., Chicago, Ill.
*Savre, B. K., Glenwood, Minn.
Scarvie, Walter B., Decorah, Iowa.
*Schmidt, O. E., Decorah, Iowa
Sektnan, M., Glasgow, Mont.
Servold, Ola Johnson, 1501 Plymouth Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Sethre, Johannes C., Lanesboro, Minn.
Shafland, Sanford, Roland, Iowa
Shefveland, O., 311 East Main St., West Union, Iowa
Shurson, H. O., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Simonson, Ida S., 336 College Ave., De Kalb, Ill.
*Sinding, John, 1513 Sherwin Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Siqueland, T. A., c/o State Bank of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Skille, Edvard, Drummond, Wis.
Sletten, J. J., Northfield, Minn.
Sletwold, E. O. F., 223 South Fawcett St., Sioux City, Iowa
Smörstad, Elmer, Decorah, Iowa
Soiland, Earl, 77 Lauders St., San Francisco, Cal.
*Solberg, Marshall, 163 North Cuyler Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Solbert, Oscar, 311 College Road, Lake Forest, Ill.
Solheim, A. H., Camrose, Alberta, Can.
Sollie, Martin E., Two Harbors, Minn.

Solomonson, A. F., Dresser Junction, Wis.
Solum, Nora, Northfield, Minn.
*Sonsteby, John J., 19 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Sorby, Andrew C., Fosston, Minn.
Sorenson, Sigurd T., Moorhead, Minn.
*Sperati, Carlo A., Decorah, Iowa
**Stabo, T., Decorah, Iowa
Stae, Ole, R. 1, Poulsbo, Wash.
Stange, Christian B., 3621 North Kedvale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
*Stange, George A., 2545 Logan Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Stavig, E. L., Rosholt, S. D.
*Stavnheim, L., 435 Metropolitan Bank Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn
Steenerson, Halvor, Crookston, Minn.
Steinarson, Mrs. Signe M., 621 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Stenerson, Gina, Scandinavia, Wis.
Stenstrand, Alf, Viroqua, Wis.
Stibolt, H. A., 1623 Farwell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Strom, Carl W., Queen's College, Oxford, England
*Strom, Oscar A., 5407 Franklin Blvd., Cleveland, Ohio
*Stub, H. G., 806 Sheldon Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Sundheim, A. M., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Svare, H. O., 226 East Vasa Ave., Fergus Falls, Minn.
**Svebakken, Otto O., Decorah, Iowa
Sveeggen, P. A., 915 Twenty-sixth Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Sverdrup, George, 710 Twenty-first Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Swenson, Laurits S., U. S. Legation, Oslo, Norway
**Swenson, Magnus, Madison, Wis.
Tanner, Jacob, c/o Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn
Taylor, Mrs. R., 3024 James Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Teisberg, C. O., 2124 Newton Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Tellefsen, Carl L., 121 Thirteenth St. N. E., Washington, D. C.
Tharaldsen, Iver, Battle Lake, Minn.
Thomas, A. L., 4556 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Thompson, H. M., 200 Madison St., Northfield, Minn.
*Thompson, J. Jörgen, 1312 St. Olaf Ave., Northfield, Minn.
Thompson, Jersing, 233 Gidding Ave., Muskegon, Mich.
*Thorpe, C. S., 1217 Sixth St. S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Thorpe, H. J., 462 Fourth Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
Thrane, Victor, 1001 McCormick Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Thronson, Carman P., Evansville, Minn.
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Tjernagel, N., Story City, Iowa
Toftoy, Holger, Corvallis, Mont.
Tolo, Arthur J., 1264 Marion St., Denver, Col.

*Tolo, T. O., Locust, Iowa
Tone, Elmer J., 412 Ashland Ave., Park Ridge, Ill.
*Torrison, George A., 2338 North Kedzie Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Torrison, I. B., Decorah, Iowa
*Torrison, Norman, Monitowoc, Wis.
Torrison, O. M., 942 County Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
*Torrison, Mrs. Thomas E., 734 North Tenth St., Manitowoc, Wis.
Torvik, Gunerius, 209 Manitou St., Northfield, Minn.
Turmo, Olaf L., Bradish, Neb.
Tveit, S. S., Albert Lea, Minn.
*Ueland, Andreas, 401 New York Life Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Unger John S., 640 Grace St., Chicago, Ill.
Unstad, Lyder, Sorgenfrigt 34, Oslo, Norway
*Urberg, S. S., Blair, Wis.
Urheim, J. L., 2839 West Division St., Chicago, Ill.
Ursin, Ove M. B., Bigfork, Minn.
*Ustrud, H. A., Baltic, S. D.
*Uthus, O. L., 1423 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Ill.
Wagnild, O. J., Milltown, Wis.
Walby, T. A., 820 Fifth St., Hudson, Wis.
Waldeland, M E., St. Ansgar, Iowa
Wee, M. O., c/o Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.
*Wefald, Knud, Hawley, Minn.
*Westergaard, B., 926 Seventy-sixth St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
*Weswig, C. M., 1456 Branston St., St. Paul, Minn.
Wick, B. L., Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Wisness, O. A., Hickson, N. D.
Woldum, Martin, Decorah, Iowa
Vaaler, K. B., Brandt, S. D.
*Vigness, L. A., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
*Ylvisaker, C. B., Northwood, Iowa
*Ylvisaker, Mrs. I. D., 386 Eighth Ave. S., Fargo, N. D.
*Ylvisaker, Mrs. J., 1371 Portland Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Ylvisaker, N. M., 425 Fourth St. S., Minneapolis, Minn.

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The establishment of an endowment of considerable size would of course make certain the permanence of the work that has been begun by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. Funds are needed, and it is hoped that in not a few cases bequests will be made to the association for the enlargement of its permanent fund. The following form of bequest has been suggested:

Being in sympathy with the movement to preserve the records and make public the historical facts pertaining to the Norwegian-American people, I hereby give and bequeath unto the Norwegian-American Historical Association, incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, the sum of..... dollars, to be paid in due course of the administration of my estate.

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